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ABSTRACT

The Parkway Program is the prototype school-without-walls created by the School District of Philadelphia in 1967. The program presently consists of four units of approximately 200 students (chosen by lottery from throughout the city), ten teachers, ten to 12 interns, and a Unit Head and administrative assistant housed in four separate non-school locations around the city. The students attend classes in: (1) conventional subject matter areas, the bulk of which are taught by the Parkway teachers, and which usually take place in sites around the city contributed by agencies and institutions, and (2) subject fields not ordinarily available to high school students, offered by volunteers (many from institutions) whose courses are monitored by Parkway staff. To provide intellectual and interpersonal coherence to the program and to offer counseling and basic skill development to all students; Parkway offers a period each day called tutorial. This report poses as the central question: Is Parkway a justifiable public enterprise despite its weaknesses? The program is justified in terms of its goal as seen through the eyes of its major constituencies, in terms of its student body's academic achievement, attendance and attitudes, and in terms of a perspective for viewing the program as part of the public school's commitment to meet the educational needs of all children. (Author/JM)

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PHILADELPHIA'S PARKWAY PROGRAM:

AN EVALUATION

Organization for Social and Technical Innovation
55 Chapel Street
Newton, Massachusetts 02158

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the extent that the following report on Philadelphia's Parkway Program succeeds in capturing the essence --both good and bad--of that much-publicized program, it is due to the capacity of Parkway people to overcome their understandable need to defend something they cherish and to share with us their questions, doubts, and frustrations as well as their achievements. That honesty has not always been easy to come by, but Parkway students, parents, staff, teachers, interns, institutions and administrators have found it possible over the last six months to look at themselves and to share what they see. In a very real sense, then, this is their report.

Our gratitude to Parkway's Director, Dr. Leonard Finkelstein and to his central staff, Elsie Wolchok, Joyce Pugh, Lisa Strick, Rae Zielin, Anne McNulty, and Robert Hutchins. Equal thanks to the parents who greeted us in their homes of a Saturday morning and shared with us their concerns; to students who talked as we ran together for a subway; to teachers who permitted us to watch them teach and asked for our comments and criticisms; to interns for allowing us to share the pains and pleasures of first encountering and coming to terms with the art of teaching; to unit heads Eric Oxley, Julius Bennett, Betty Barth, and Barbara Smith and their Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta Units for allowing us to observe and participate in the staff meetings and for sharing their insights.

Our special admiration and gratitude to the Continuing Evaluation Committee composed of parents, institutions,

students, teachers, and administrators who met faithfully on Thursday evenings and undertook with us the challenging task, as a group, of analyzing Parkway and beginning to go about the laborious task of redesigning those parts of the program which were not functioning effectively.

Reginald Wells, Director of Admissions and Student Services of the State University of New York at Stonybrook, and Mrs. Dorothy Blanchard, Planning Assistant in Urban Education at Temple University, were consultants to the evaluation team and contributed importantly. Miss Martha Leader, an ex-Parkway intern and senior at Swarthmore, assisted with the analysis of the student questionnaire. Joan Wofford and Joanne Ross of the OSTI staff take major responsibility for the evaluation and for this report.

INTRODUCTION

On May 21, 1971, Philadelphia's Parkway Program sent out to evaluation and consulting firms an unusual Request for Proposal. That Request for Proposal stressed the degree to which the Parkway Program sought a team of evaluators who were:

> Sensitive human beings with interest in urban education and experience in relating to young people of heterogeneous backgrounds and outlooks... able to listen to students...able to understand non-verbal forms of communication,...able to use a broad range of conventional and innovative techniques in their analysis. The team should be balanced racially and sexually.

The RFP further sought a study "truly useful to us" and asked that all plans be made cooperatively with an Evaluation Committee composed of Parkway people. It requested a self-examination in terms of Parkway's own goals, and it stressed the importance of an evaluation process which could "become a major educational resource for both students and staff" while not being "dehumanizing or intimidating for students" and which would "involve members of the school community in the collection and processing of data."

The Organization for Social and Technical Innovation (OSTI), a Cambridge-based non-profit research and consulting firm, responded to the RFP by offering to assist Parkway. We committed ourselves both to serving as staff to their

evaluation committee and to leaving with Parkway the mechanisms and skills for an on-going evaluation process.

Apparently, this approach was an attractive one to the Parkway Program, for on June 23 , 1971, we were invited to Philadelphia. The OSTI team met with a diverse group of students, teachers, interns, staff and administrators, and shortly thereafter were invited to conduct the evaluation.

That evaluation has principally consisted of the two-fold process we proposed. Our evaluation work has included 16 two-day visits from September 1 through February 11, consisting of interviews and observations with central administrators and institutions, and with students, parents, interns, and teachers primarily in the three units Alpha, Beta, and Gamma, and less so in the new unit,Delta. We have also occasionally been called upon to participate by teaching classes, leading tutorials, participating in staff meetings. Our evaluation has included an examination of 400 pupil records,and a questionnaire administered to 493 out of 687 students. Those evaluation activities culminate in this report.*

The second part of our activities consisted of the rewarding process of designing with Parkway people an approach which they could perfect and utilize in their continuing examination of themselves. This activity principally occurred in our meetings with the Continuing Evaluation Committee. It has also taken the form of some direct training and technical assistance with small

* Regrettably we were unable, within the time and budgetary constraints of this evaluation, to interview an extensive number of Parkway graduates. Such an in-depth survey ought to be undertaken in the near future.

groups of teachers and interns, where we have attempted to critique individual teachers and encouraged other teachers to observe and critique each other. The success of this part of our work with Parkway is now in Parkway's hands, for they are the ones who will discover whether or not OSTI has managed to give them some of the tools and the self-confidence to continue what is always a painful task: self-examination coupled with the will to discard cherished beliefs if they prove inoperable. This, after all, is what real learning is all about.

There are, however, parties to this evaluation beyond OSTI and Parkway. The central policy question for the Board of Education and the taxpayer is the one to which the remainder of this report is addressed:

> Is Parkway a justifiable public enterprise despite its weaknesses or does the total of its problems eliminate it as a viable public activity?

In order to address this question, we first examine Parkway's goals as they can be found in the statements of Parkway constituencies (I), then take a hard look at Parkway's population (II), and finally restate the central question in terms of Parkway's meaning (III). After that analysis, we examine Parkway's practices in terms of specific findings and recommendations (IV).

Finally, there is an audience beyond the confines of Philadelphia, an audience who knows of the Parkway Program,

in some cases has supported it and in others has sought to emulate it in other settings. Parkway's Request for Proposal referred to this audience, and the program itself is conscious of itself as a major innovation which is much visited and carefully watched. In presenting this report, we cannot ignore that larger audience, and simply request that the report be read in its entirety with the understanding that what we and Parkway have attempted here is a thorough self-examination. Read in that spirit, this report might conceivably prove helpful to those who share many of Parkway's theories, yet may not have experienced Parkway's opportunities to confront the problems involved in implementing those theories.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PARKWAY PROGRAM

The Parkway Program is the prototye school-without-walls created by the School District of Philadelphia in 1967. The program presently consists of four units of approximately 200 students (chosen by lottery from throughout the city), 10 teachers, 10-12 interns, and a Unit Head and administrative assistant housed in 4 separate non-school locations around the city. The students attend classes in: 1) conventional subject matter areas, the bulk of which are taught by the Parkway teachers, and which usually take place in sites around the city contributed by agencies and institutions and 2) subject fields not ordinarily available to high school students offered by volunteers (many from institutions) whose courses are monitored by Parkway staff.

To provide intellectual and interpersonal coherence to the program and to offer counseling and basic skill development to all students, Parkway offers a period each day called tutorial.

Supporting the individual units is a central staff of a Project Director, Assistant Director, Institutions Coordinator, Information Officer, and two administrative assistants.

SUMMARY

The Parkway Program has accomplished something unique when viewed against the backdrop of our nation's urban education. Despite problems and weaknesses, Parkway has created an atmosphere in which students perceive rules and regulations not as hostile attacks upon their humanity, but as essential ingredients in creative group living. The adults who normally bear the responsibility for making and enforcing those rules are, at Parkway, frequently regarded as allies. Student acceptance of the necessity of rules and their affirmation of adults as people who can be trusted to care are notable achievements.

OSTI's evaluation of Philadelphia's Parkway Program seeks to address three audiences:

- The Parkway Program itself in its efforts to be engaged in self-evaluation.
- The School District in its responsibility for the operations and implications of this innovative program.
- Those outside Parkway and the Philadelphia School District whose understanding of currently popular educational theories may be increased by learning of Parkway's experience in living some of those theories.

This report poses as the central question:

> Is Parkway a justifiable public enterprise despite its weaknesses or does the total of its problems eliminate it as a viable public activity?

The report finds that the program is justified in terms of its goals as seen through the eyes of its major constituencies (Section I), in terms of its student body's academic achievement, attendance and attitudes (Section II), and in terms of a perspective for viewing the Parkway Program as part of the public school's commitment to meet the educational needs of all children. Parkway has been successful in meeting the needs of:

- Some of the most academically talented students who find themselves turned off by regular schooling
- The non-conforming, rebellious students
- The low-skilled, low income minority students

Section IV examines specific program practices and offers recommendations for their improvement. Section V, the conclusion, suggests ways in which Parkway can learn from and share with the rest of the school system.

This report contains little hard data about student performance, accomplishments after graduation, drop-out rates, or program costs. Its omission rests partly with the Parkway Program and its past uneasiness with traditional measures of performance and partly with the terms of our evaluation contract.

Finally, the Continuing Evaluation Committee, composed or parents, students, staff, administrators and interns, with which OSTI worked closely in the latter part of our evaluation, has read this report in draft form. Where they have been unable to change the opinions of the evaluators, their objectives to our statements are footnoted.

I. CONSTITUENCIES

If Parkway is to be evaluated as a public enterprise, the decision-makers need to hear from its constituencies. Each constituency has a legitimate viewpoint based on its own experience. We propose to address those experiences through the statements of Parkway constituents: students, parents, interns, and institutions. We omit the views of the Parkway professionals partly because their views are best expressed through their actions (and will be presented in other sections of this report), and partly because professionals have historically been the defenders of their own services. From the views of constituencies it will also be possible to extract the goals of this program by which it should be measured.

PARKWAY'S GOALS FOR ITSELF

The Parkway Program* suggested in their Request for Proposal that they wished to be evaluated in terms of their own objectives and standards. If they had not stated this condition, we would have proposed it, for it is only on its own terms that an innovative program can legitimately be measured. Certainly, it cannot be held against the conventional standards when to some degree it is seeking to alter some of those conventions.

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* We do not offer a detailed description of the Parkway Program in this report. We attempt to analyze it. Parkway has been much described; there is a bibliography on it. The most recent description is John Bremer's book "The School Without Walls" written with Michael von Moschzisker, Holt, Rinehart Winston, 1971.

THE PROGRAM'S RHETORIC

While we could examine Parkway's goals by looking at the early statements of its first and articulate director, John Bremer (or at the list of objectives developed by the first Evaluation Team and also based on John Bremer's vision), the early rhetoric of the Parkway Program has become an obstacle, even though Parkway continues to use that rhetoric in describing itself to the media. People involved with Parkway express combinations of hostility and guilt at the ringing phrases used to launch their program:

- "a mode of education in keeping with major traditions of American life"
- "education is not something done to children by teachers, it is something that teachers and children do together"
- "the city is also our curriculum because there is nothing to learn about but the city"
- "...education and politics are inseparable activities and...every political act is an educational act and every educational act is a political act"

The hostility and frustration expressed toward this rhetoric spring from three hard years of experiencing the attempts to translate the phrases into reality and of recognizing how difficult it is to do.

THE EXPERIENCE OF PARKWAY--WHILE NOT ARTICULATED TO THE PUBLIC--IS THAT THE PROGRAM HAS CHANGED, GROWN, DEVELOPED SINCE ITS CREATION. THE ORIGINAL RHETORIC DOES NOT REFLECT THOSE CHANGES. ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF THIS ANALYSIS IS TO DESCRIBE THOSE CHANGES, EXAMINE THEM, SET THEM AGAINST THE ORIGINAL STATEMENTS OF GOALS, AND HELP BOTH PARKWAY AND THE PUBLIC PERCEIVE THE PROGRAM FOR WHAT IT IS FELT TO BE AT THE MOMENT.

THE CONSTITUENTS' VIEWS

In the views set forth by Parkway's many participants, we will perceive not Parkway's stated goals, but its discovered goals.*

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* We make the assumption here that all human endeavors can be viewed in terms of what their participants formally articulate themselves to be attempting and what, after some experiences, they can be helped to recognize they have accomplished. There is a tension between formal description of goals and the goals implicit in action, both for individuals and for institutions. Important learning usually springs from the task of pulling those two elements into closer contact.

STUDENTS

On the bases of formal and informal interviews and the responses to the questionnaire, Parkway students seem to be saying:

"Teachers here admit they're human and not perfect. They're not afraid of kids. In regular school, they become professionals."

"We meet kids from all over the city, not just from our neighborhood."

"Parkway gives us the padding that lets kids flounder when they have to and come out when they are ready to."

"Here we do homework and are quiet out of friendship for the teacher."

"We help select staff and it feels good to be involved."

"I wouldn't know how to act if I had to go back to my other school."

"Anyway, the illusion of power is nice."

"The Parkway Program is really directed toward kids who can't read or write."

"Our unit doesn't look like a school, all nice and neat."

"We are not stuck in one building. We get to go out, see people, walk around. We don't have to go by the same route each day. It's more like college."

"We can choose our own courses. Nobody makes up our roster for us."

"I don't like how people are chosen for Parkway. Many have been told to sign up by their counselors."

"The teachers really care about you here."

"Some work really hard and others don't do anything."

"The classes are smaller; the kids are friendlier."

"They make you feel trusted and responsible here--even in little ways like letting you smoke."

"I was headed for college and was told by my counselor not to apply because Parkway didn't have college courses and was not my type."

"Parkway can kick us out if we don't perform. Man, they can send us back to our old school!"

"Institutions are important but not critical. We use their space but not the real institution."

"Calling teachers by their first name is not important; it's not nothing!"

"The small numbers are great. In a big school the goof-offs get away with murder. They sit in back of the class and make trouble. Here they can't. They're in front of the class.

"Most kids going to regular school focus on, 'Am I going to be safe?' I used to worry about being kicked into a gang. I joined to avoid being cut up, sat next to the door, kept low, was ready to jump. Here we all come from different areas and that breaks up gangs. When we go home, we are safe because the gangs know we're out of it."

"The best thing about this school is getting away from my old school."

"The worst thing about this school is tutorial."

"Everybody thinks his unit is best and the others are nothing."

"Here we learn to be responsible."

"Coming to Parkway makes me special. A little like going to private school."

An Interpretation

Parkway students appear to be expressing a number of goals for a Parkway. They seem to be saying that Parkway as they know it is designed as:

- a place for escape from gangs, old neighborhoods, the size of schools, and conventional school atmosphere.
- a place where you can develop a sense of responsibility for your own learning.
- a place where it is possible to establish close relationships with adults.
- a place that likes and trusts students in part because it gives them physical freedom, choice and certain adult liberties (such as calling adults by their first name or smoking).
- a place that grants them prestige.
- a place where it is possible to experience a sense of ownership in ones unit because the units are small enough to provide for real knowledge of the other people in it and where individuals cannot be overlooked.
- a place that will respect your needs and protect you while you "flounder."
- a place which grants you more physical space and more time in which to come to terms with yourself.

They also indicated a number of problems:

- The selection process through the lottery and the role of sending school counselors--is it really so "democratic"?
- The actual student population served by a Parkway--who is it for?

- The real meaning of student participation in matters like teacher selection--"is it for real?"
- A fear of being forced back into the old situation--what would I do?
- The confusion over the importance of institutional involvement--is it only a way to get hold of some space?
- The level of performance of staff--what are some of them doing here?
- The tutorial--why doesn't it work as originally conceived?
- Cross-unit suspicion--why don't the units share?

Students, then, if we can put their variety of statements together into a composite description, might describe Parkway as:

> A special school to which we can escape from those problems in our old situation which we no longer can stand; a place where we are trusted, cared for, and not "hassled" while we find out who we are, and where we learn that we count as individuals within a framework where our individual actions matter. From this set of experiences, we learn to be responsible.

The collective speakers will be defined in Section II; the problems they identify will be discussed in Section IV.

PARENTS

We conducted formal interviews in parents' homes on Saturdays, frequently with both parents present. (Appendix A lists the specific questions we asked). We also attended meetings with the parent groups and in other situations had a number of informal conversations.

"Parkway is above and beyond a school situation. It's a living situation."

"I like the close relationship with the tutorial leader and feeling free to call up and talk with him."

"My daughter was picked because her counselor urged her to try Parkway. The counselor gave her a ballot and told her she could handle Parkway."

"I hope my youngest son makes it."

"I'm against the extra activities like music and gym that you find in regular schools. During those times, they could be learning something else. After school and weekends are time enough for that other stuff."

"Is Parkway good for kids who aren't self-starters?"

"What do you do about the goof-offs?"

"Parkway allows kids to develop at their own rate. It's a tailored program."

"My son talks about school every day even though he's not taking traditional courses. I think we're meeting his needs."

"This year, my daughter talks more, is more outspoken, more interested in things like the newspaper and new words. Before she would say 'I don't know' to questions about what she wanted to do. Now she shows interest in things like shopping and museums."

"She used to say 'if I can;' now she says 'when I do....'"

"How do you judge when a kid is too disruptive even for a Parkway and what do you do about it?"

"Our son had a problem with tests. He didn't want to compete and he used to get sick when he had to take a test. Now he'll take tests, he even got an A recently and he says that tests at Parkway are helping him."

"For my daughter it's an intellectual year off , but its a great year in terms of her holistic view of the world and herself."

"Why is it so hard to learn about Parkway from the School System? People don't know about it and at PTA meetings it is not discussed."

"Our kid didn't get into Parkway until the middle of the second semester following an application the previous June. We received a notice in December that he could come if someone dropped out."

"I don't like Parkway's graduation. I think they should wear caps and gowns."

"I do like the way the teachers call us and discuss problems with us and really seem to care."

"The kids get along better at Parkway. There's more togetherness."

"The teachers sometimes work with the kids on Saturdays and Sundays. They do lots of things with the students on their own time and with their own money, like shows and ski trips, and dinner."

"It took me a year to get used to no grades, school buildings, tests, but now I'm used to that and I figure you'll learn if you want to."

"Sure I'll send my next kid. Anything will be an improvement over what he would get otherwise."

"At first the program hadn't congealed and it was pretty disorganized. Now the teachers are more organized and are straightening things out."

"My kids are happy and that's what I want. They like school and talk about it constantly. Furthermore, I think they may be getting an education not an indoctrination."

"I like the broad spectrum of kids and adults at Parkway. This is just what you meet in the world."

"I think if we had had a Parkway my son would not have dropped out of high school."

"My kid is a nice boy but he isn't the brightest boy in the world. He's not college material, but now his heart is set on going to college. We're worried."

"The greatest thing about Parkway is that it gets kids out of the gang environment. My kid would eventually have dropped out of school because he refused to join a gang and was getting beat up."

"I'd like to see things tightened up a bit."

"No one ever challenges in that program and there are no accountability devices built in."

INTERPRETATION

From the parents' comments a number of themes emerge:

- Parkway teachers demonstrate a special degree of involvement, accessibility, and energy.

- Parkway affords a special kind of education, in which people relate to each other differently.
- Parents fear the gang situation in regular schools--both in terms of the beatings children receive if they do not join and the future that awaits them if they do join.
- There are questions about what kind of student is best served by a Parkway.
- Some felt critical of the laxness of the program both in terms of the intellectual demands placed on students and the administration of the overall program.
- A parental desire to see Parkway in the best light possible (as evidenced by the overwhelmingly favorable comments), the evaluation team felt, was partially the result of the parents being a permissive, "far-out" group who did not want to give the impression that they viewed college as critically important for their children. It was also a result--at least for the parents interviewed--of the strong sense they communicated (although not in words) that Parkway* granted them and their children a special status.

The parents comments support those of the students. Both see Parkway as an institution that:

- demonstrates its attitude of caring
- is open and responsive to students and parents
- gives something unique around a "living situation"
- affords a relief from otherwise intolerable schooling situations
- grants prestige

Like the students, the parents question:

- the selection process

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* The Continuing Evaluation Committee took strong exception to this statement.

- what kind of student is best served by a Parkway
- a degree of laxness around teaching and general administration

The parents add two concerns not heard from the students (but which we did hear from teachers):

- Does Parkway tend to raise expectations so high that in some students their aspiration levels become unrealistic in terms of ability?
- In expressing trust in, and acceptance of students, Parkway has avoided a posture of challenging students about their beliefs, values, and performance. Is it not possible to challenge and retain an attitude of love and respect? In fact, can you really be said to care if you refuse to challenge unacceptable behavior?

INTERNS

Each unit has 10-12 undergraduate interns from all over the East and Mid-West who come for somewhere between 12 and 36 weeks, share a tutorial with a regular staff member and combine some solo teaching with observation and assisting. Their presence doubles staff size. We include their comments because their perspective is a unique one. They are not professionals dependent on Parkway for their jobs. They are not students or parents dependent upon Parkway for a special kind of school. They are both staff and pupils for a short but intense period of time.

"The freedom, responsibility, and self-reliance are the great thing Parkway teaches. Maybe they can work for the kids too."

"I'm gypping the kids because I don't know how to teach Basic English and math skills. My university doesn't teach us remedial skills as part of their teacher-training."

"I've gotten my money's worth; I've learned how to trust people."

"My unit has been trying to find time when we can meet with the reading teacher so she can teach us how to give a reading test. What's the point of giving a test if we don't know how to use its results?"

"We need help in learning how to observe other teachers. What should we look for?"

"Parkway's going to sink or swim on its teaching of basic skills."

"Why don't we get any help from the school system's specialists?"

"For me Parkway has been a great learning experience. I took no shortcuts (of the kind academic successes are built on); I had no excuse for using gimmicks."

"Our responsibilities are the same as staff members. Yet we are paid virtually nothing for our efforts, are given all the dirty work to do, and are not really included in decision making."

"There's one great teacher in my unit who pushes people to accept the consequences of their actions. He's always asking 'What do you think? What are your goals, your values?'"

"We had an intern meeting last night and most of the interns said, 'Let's work on a one-to-one basis but not together' even though we all shared the same analysis of the problem."

"Why should we pay tuition at our universities and then pay for our own support down here while the universities give us nothing at all for our money except a grade?"

A teacher said about interns:

"Yes, we exploit them but, a) we're honest and admit we do; b) all of society exploits students; c) we are actually less exploitative than are other programs because while we work them hard, at least we don't waste their time." *

An original intern said about the interns:

"The model for full exploitation was created in the very beginning when interns were used in drawing up the Parkway proposal and then were pressed immediately into the role of full-time teacher in a unit that had 9 teachers and 7 interns."

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* As an alternative school, Parkway should, in the opinion the evaluation team, be more sensitive to the needs of university students who are themselves seeking alternative learning situations. Parkway ought to take a more active advocate role on behalf of the interns with the sending universities and within the Parkway structure.

INTERPRETATION

In their capacity as temporary super-students in Parkway, the interns' comments reveal a number of interesting assumptions.

- That a large portion of Parkway's population is in need of skills which the usual teacher-in-training has not been taught to teach.

- That as students they receive very little direction or help in their own learning experience either from Parkway or their universities and feel quite lost.

- That for some Parkway affords a unique and priceless learning experience.

That interns are exploited by Parkway is indisputable. That such is the role of most interns in most institutions (whether medical, educational, or industrial) is also indisputable. However, in Parkway the disproportionately large number of interns (equal to or greater than the number of teachers) points to a reliance on interns that suggests a real problem.

- Teachers are overloaded by the demands of a Parkway situation.

- Parkway achieves some of its uniqueness (its low student: teacher ratio and perhaps its personalization) from unpaid interns.

INSTITUTIONS

The Parkway Program utilizes the resources of the city, particularly of those impressive institutions which surround the Parkway. The utilization of such resources takes three forms:

1. The utilization of physical space within an institution for classroom instruction offered by a Parkway staff member.

2. The design and teaching of courses by institutional staff members whose time is contributed by the institution.

3. The design and teaching of courses by interested individuals outside of both Parkway and institutions but which may utilize institutional space for classroom purposes. Parkway currently lists courses offered by individuals and institutions.

"It's 100% ideal for the highly motivated kid who has the tools and background. For others it's unrealistic to expect adjustment to freedom. We need a lower-level Parkway."

"It's easy to fudge (e.g. attendance) and that isn't good for the kids or the school. There's a tendency for the kids to feel they have carte blanche, so they waste time."

"Teachers have an impossible burden and their duties need to be clarified. But most of all the responsibility-authority question needs clarifying."

"Great philosophy but it works for the bright well-motivated kids and sometimes for the turned-off kids because of the personalization."

"For kids from structured situations, it's too much freedom to take."

"There's a whole middle group that does not participate much."

"Parkway kids are not obliged to complete things."

"It's hard to get hold of Parkway people. Their attitude is relaxed. Phone calls aren't returned."

"One-third of the students at Parkway are there as run-aways not because they are positively attracted. Heady stuff and immature kids make for problems."

"Our initial efforts were 'tuned too high' for the students. We have continually lowered the academic level of our offerings and have had real success with a vocationally-oriented course."

"The program seems to lack the resources to supply texts and other course materials when individuals (instead of institutions) offer courses."

INTERPRETATION

The comments from representatives of institutions which have been involved in Parkway begin to fall into some familiar themes:

- Who is Parkway for? Are the present kind of institutional offerings appropriate for students with low levels of ability and motivation?
- Why doesn't Parkway tighten up? Clarify duties and responsibilities.
- Are not the students there as an escape?
- Aren't the teachers overloaded?

Underscoring all these critical questions runs the other affirmative theme: It is a great idea, and the program really seems to care about students.

There is another unstated theme that runs through these comments (but one which a student mentioned):

- Parkway derives much of its image from the involvement of institutions. What is Parkway giving to institutions in return?
- How important are institutions to the essence of Parkway?
- Are they essentially utilized for the space they offer to a program highly dependent on external sources for classroom space?

SUMMARY

The themes are clear, have been repeatedly stated, and can be read as a set of "discovered" goals: Parkway is a special school which offers escape, acceptance, status. Its staff are people whose energy level and involvement are high. In Parkway students feel trusted, parents feel accepted, interns and institutions experience a range of feelings around involvement, exploitation and excitement.

Parkway has problems in fully realizing these goals, and the problems cluster around:

- the population it serves
- the process which admits them
- the autonomy of the units
- the coordination of the entire program
- the overload on some teachers and the inadequate performance of others
- the centrality of the institutions
- the ethos of participation
- the security Parkway participants feel in challenging any other of the participants--students, teachers, parents, administrators, and the concepts of the program itself.

Both sections III and IV will deal with these themes, Part III conceptually, Part IV in terms of specific practices. Part II will define the student population in quantifiable terms both because there are so many questions about that population throughout the program and because the reader will want to know who the students

are who defend this program. The identity of students is central to the views of the program held by parents, interns, and institutions.

II. A HARD LOOK AT PARKWAY'S POPULATION

Quotations from constituencies and interpretations of their comments tell us how people feel about their program. Quotations tell us nothing about who the speakers are. The purpose of this section is to examine the student population at Parkway.

ACHIEVEMENT

Because Parkway does not give letter grades and has no uniform testing program, we decided to look at Parkway students before they entered the program. For this purpose we examined the scores of Parkway students on the Iowa Test administered to all Philadelphia students in the eighth grade. For two of Parkway's units, Beta and Gamma, which roughly constitute one-half of the total Parkway population, we recorded:

1) reading grade equivalent*
2) arithmetic grade equivalent
3) national percentile grouping in terms of the composite score
4) Philadelphia percentile grouping in terms of the composite score.

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* We are aware that the School District considers the grade equivalents arbitrary and that they rely therefore on the percentile rankings. We include grade equivalents only because the Parkway Program is of interest to audiences beyond the city of Philadelphia.

The data are presented by unit on the following charts.* In examining them it is important to note that the average figure is frequently deceptive because while the average for both units may be the same, there is a broad difference in distribution below the average. The most marked differences occur in the lowest decile. It is also interesting to note that Beta and Gamma students look remarkably similar on their scores on the reading and math tests, even though Gamma's distribution is more even than that of Beta. Both groups must therefore be deemed to have more similarity in their basic skills than appear in the dramatically different percentile figures

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* 8th grade Iowa test scores were not available for all Parkway students, either because they came from suburban, private or parochial schools, or because, although Philadelphia students, their records were missing or incomplete. (Perhaps because of absence during that testing period. In addition, some student records were not available during the data gathering period as they were in the possession of individual teachers). However, approximately 3/4 of the current student body of two units is included in the profile.

Where test data were incomplete, no composite score was available. Reading or arithmetic grade levels, where given, were noted (thus the differences in number of schools in various charts).

Where 7th, but not 8th grade, scores were given, .5 was added to 7th grade scores and the same percentiles used (approximately five cases per Parkway unit).

Obviously these test scores were calculated on tests given in different years and matched against different student populations are not entirely comparable. But it was felt that sufficient similarity existed to permit grouping them as indicated in the accompanying graphs and drawing from these groups a general indication of the range of ability within the Parkway student body.

for their composite scores.*

Finally, in the context of Philadelphia [the Philadelphia norms are calculated each year, unlike the national norms which were established in 1962-1963], it should be noted that both units have student bodies above average, although within the national context they are below average.**

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* The difference between Beta's and Gamma's composite scores and grade equivalent scores is partly explained by the fact that if we convert the scores to percentiles, Beta has 58 students scoring in the 10th percentile (5.8 GE and below), while Gamma has 38 students in that percentile.

** It is also partly explained by examining the other parts of the Iowa Test that compose the composite score. The test includes vocabulary, reading, spelling, language, work-study and arithmetic. Each of these categories is equally weighted, but a number have sub-categories. Language is composed equally of 1) spelling, 2) punctuation, 3) capitalization, and 4) usage; work-study is composed of 1) graphs and tables, 2) map usage, and 3) use of reference materials; and arithmetic is composed of 1) problems and 2) concepts.

A larger proportion of Gamma students than Beta students may well possess a range of skills beyond those of reading and arithmetic.

If one projects the composite scores of the entire city's public school population against the national norms on a standard distribution of 16%-34%-34%-16%, one finds the city's population scores as follows:

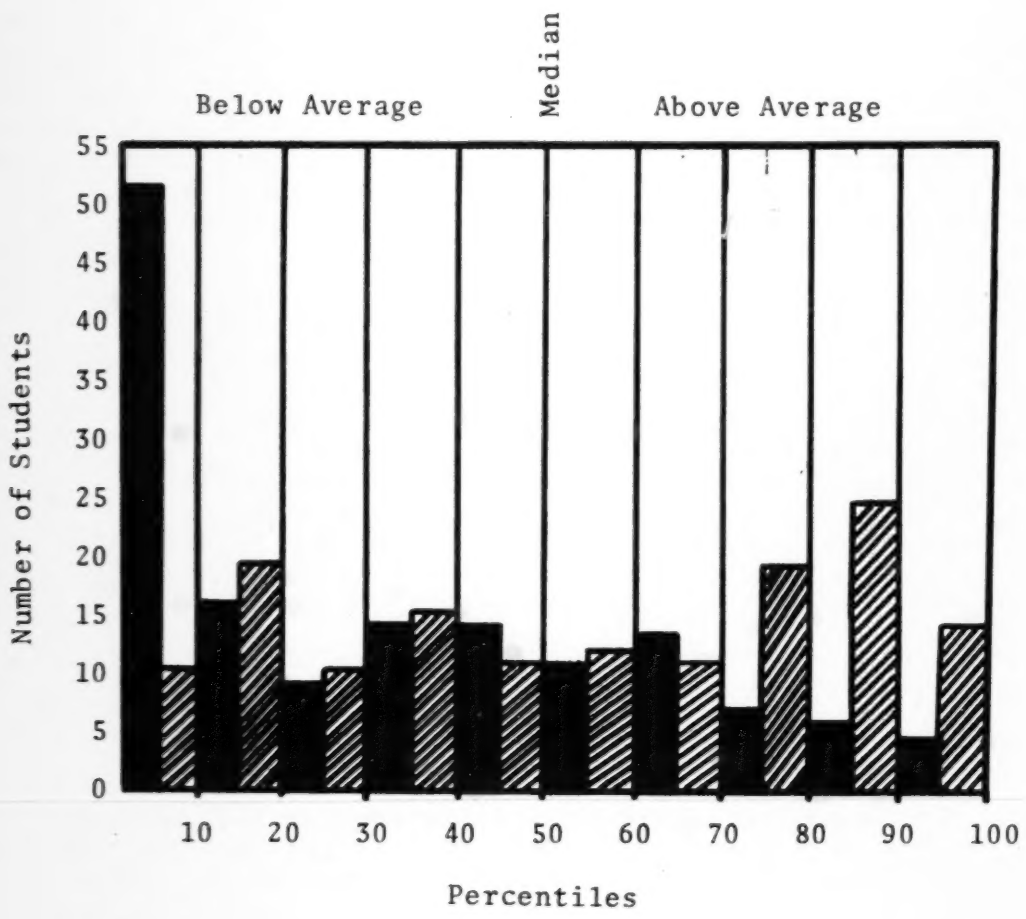
16%tile	34%	34%	16%
52%	34%	13%	1%

Another way of looking at Philadelphia's student population is to note that on the average, city-wide, in grades 3-8, 40% of the students fall at or below the 16th percentile (which is the cut-off point for minimum functioning level). [Data derived from the Report of Spring 1970 Achievement Test Results, Technical Report #7138, Spring 1971, The School District of Philadelphia, Office of Research and Evaluation]

BETA UNIT

Composite Score Percentile Group

Iowa 8th Grade Tests



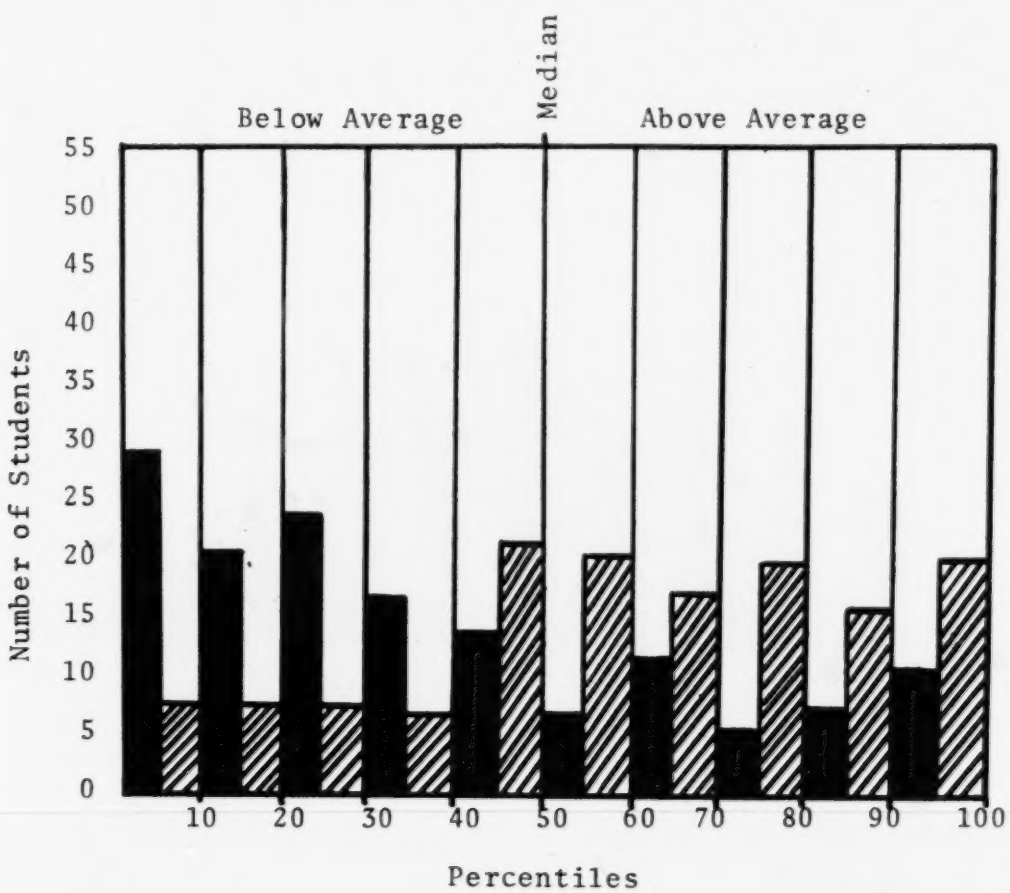
144 Students

Nationally: 103 below average, 41 above average
Philadelphia: 65 below average, 79 above average

GAMMA UNIT

Composite Score Percentile Group

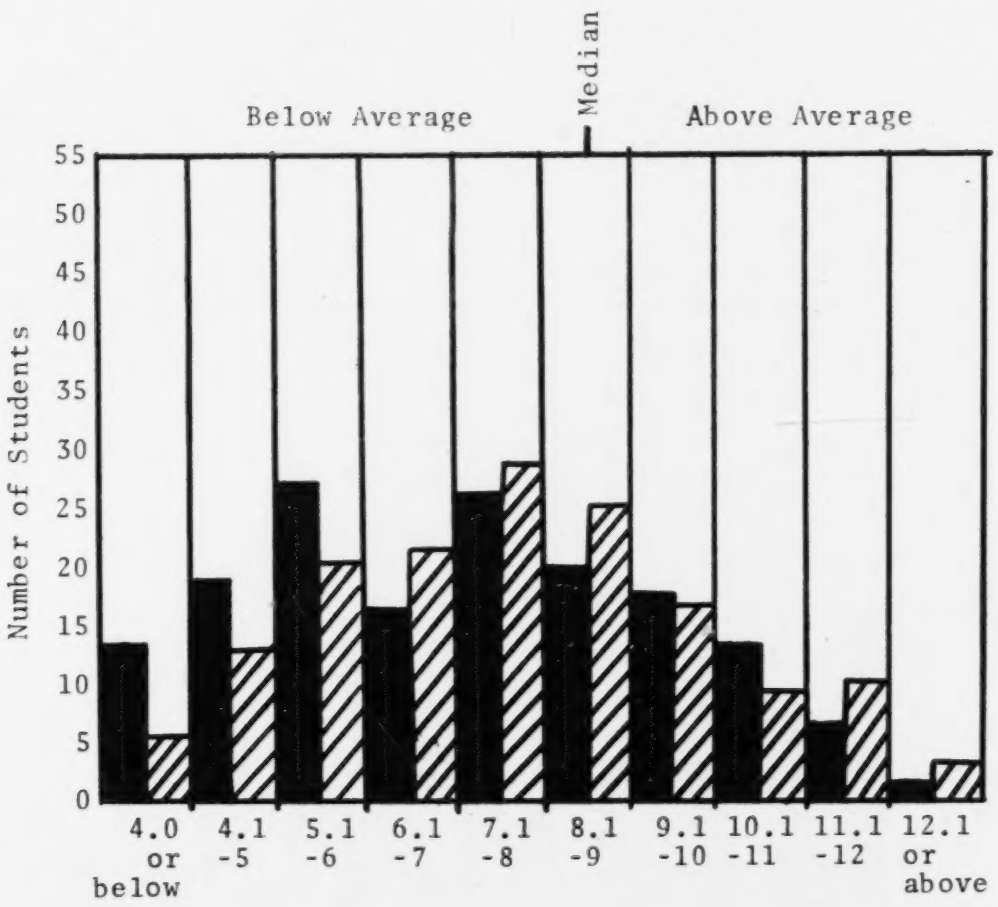
Iowa 8th Grade Tests



Nationally: 101 below average, 39 above average
Philadelphia: 48 below average, 92 above average

BETA and GAMMA

Reading Grade Levels
8th Grade Iowas



BETA [157 Students]

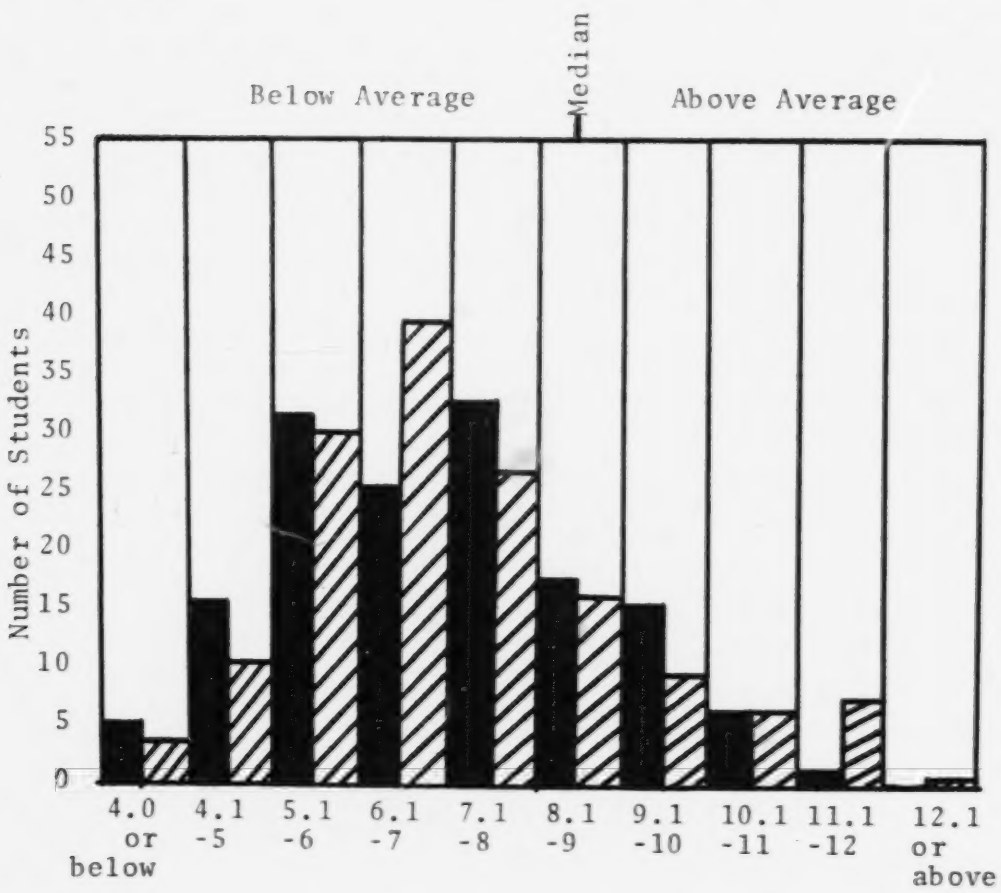
GAMMA [150 Students]

BETA: 110 below average, 47 above average
GAMMA: 97 below average, 53 above average

BETA and GAMMA

Arithmetic Grade Levels

8th Grade Iowas



BETA [147 Students]

GAMMA [144 Students]

BETA: 119 below average, 28 above average

GAMMA: 115 below average, 29 above average

These data suggest:

- a broad range of achievement in basic skill development
- need for a strong remedial skill program for the high proportion of students functioning at a minimal level (58 in Beta, 38 in Gamma)
- need for a diagnostic testing program and other means for understanding and responding to individual weaknesses
- careful selection of courses for students who are functionally illiterate
- examination of the suitability of some institutional offerings for many of these pupils
- reconsideration of higher education as a goal for all students
- a major emphasis on computational skills for all but one-fifth of the students

They further suggest the desirability of Parkway's undertaking similar record searches both in terms of the two units we did not cover and in terms of other indications in the records of problem areas like attendance, discipline, health, familial, etc.*

ATTENDANCE

While the Iowa test data is the hardest we have, it may be worth examining the attendance figures for the Parkway population.

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* We began this process and found it impossible within our time and budgetary constraints, largely because the volume of material in Parkway students folders is unmanageable. We would like to urge that each Parkway unit undertake a review of its system of maintaining student records so that the material contained in the files on 200 students is separated and cross-referenced for greater efficiency and utility.

PARKWAY ATTENDANCE FIGURES

1971-1972

	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.
Overall Average	92%	81%	81%	81%	78%
Alpha	(185)	140 (183)	142 (176)	137 (172)	151 (199)
Beta	(192)	147 (187)	151 (181)	146 (176)	157 (195)
Gamma	(187)	140 (176)	129 (168)	127 (163)	148 (189)
Delta	(181)	168 (180)	154 (176)	148 (176)	148 (182)

NOTES:

The first figure indicates the average daily attendance.

The figure in parentheses indicates the number on roll.

All of these figures come from Parkway's own records and are the same as those submitted to the Board of Education each month.

The January increase in numbers on roll is due to the additional students assigned to each unit in January.

For September, we have only total number enrolled.

1970-1971

Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.
89%	82%	80%	82%	82%	82%	84%	64%	87%	76%

THESE FIGURES INDICATE THAT ATTENDANCE AT PARKWAY IS CONSIDERABLY HIGHER THAN IN THE AVERAGE HIGH SCHOOL.

ATTITUDES--About Parkway

Finally we have the results of the questionnaire we administered to the entire Parkway student body (687) during the week of November 29, 1971, and from which we have a response of 493 students.* [See Appendix B]

The questionnaire included a question about ethnicity. 44 students did not respond. Of the others, the students listed:

- 238 black
- 230 white
- 8 Spanish-speaking
- 3 Oriental

One section of the questionnaire which we deem reliable presented 17 favorable statements about Parkway derived from interviews with students. The respondents were asked to rank each item on a 5 point scale in terms of "The Good Things about Parkway are..."

By adding the number of students on each item who gave rankings of "very important" and "important," the following results emerge:

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* This instrument turned out to be less than reliable partly because Parkway staff insisted it be an anonymous questionnaire. This demand rendered parts of the instrument unreliable as prepared , in that we could not pursue our intention of checking samples of responses against actual student records.

Last Page of Student Questionnaire

THE GOOD THINGS ABOUT PARKWAY ARE:

	Total of Students Alloting a "1" or "2"
Learning to take responsibility for our learning.	432
The small classes.	377
The informal relationship for our learning.	372
Being able to decide when it is that we can graduate.	365
The freedom to meet with a teacher when I want to.	357
Participating in the decisions that affect our unit.	354
Taking courses in institutions around the city.	333
Being able to say and wear what we want.	313
Getting away from my old school.	304
Getting to know a broader (more diverse) group of kids.	286
Being in a school out of my neighborhood.	276
Being a member of a small unit/ community.	263
Taking courses with people in the city who are not regular teachers.	263
Being able to travel around the city.	228
Having our own building which we can fix up as we want.	185
Going to school out of my neighborhood.	163
Calling a teacher by his first name.	149

The "top ten" list, then, looks like this:

1. Responsibility for learning.
2. Intimacy of classes.
3. Informality between students and teachers.
4. Individual decision-making.
5. Accessibility of teachers.
6. Participation in group decision-making.
7. Exposure to the city and its institutions.
8. Permissive code of dress and speech.
9. Escape from old school. *
10. Diversity of student body.

If we cluster these responses, the following emerges:

- Feeling responsible and being treated responsibly (rankings of 1st, 4th, and 6th)
- Intimacy, informality, easy relationships with teachers (2nd, 3rd, 5th)
- Exposure, freedom, escape, diversity and prestige (7th, 8th, 9th, 10th)

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* Interestingly enough, the notion of Parkway as an escape route was stressed far more heavily in informal interviews than in the written response to the questionnaire.

An interesting result of this exercise is that the students apparently value intimacy and informality, but do not relate it to having a building of their own which they can fix up as they choose (ranked 14th), nor being a member of a small community (ranked 12th) nor to traveling around the city (ranked 13th).

Apparently they do not associate the scale of the institution, the size of their unit, nor the flexibility of their arrangements with those aspects in Parkway they value the most. There are a number of possible explanations:

- They take aspects like unit size and flexibility for granted and have never examined their relationships to the most valued characteristics (responsibility, intimacy, informality, exposure, diversity, etc.)
- These aspects as such are simply not important to the students, and size and flexibility are reflected in things which students call close relationships.
- Students are uncomfortable about expressing in black and white their feelings about these aspects.

In this respect, it is perhaps interesting to note the response of some students to the question "What would you bring to Parkway from your old school?" Before they were allowed to answer, they participated in a brief examination of the distinction drawn between traditional school (which they might dislike) and orderly procedures used by schools and other bureaucracies for accomplishing agreed-upon goals. With the separation of "tradition" and "bureaucracy" firmly in mind, the students listed the

following items as those they would most like to see in Parkway:

- a single building for our classes
- a schedule made out in advance
- reliable and orderly records

ATTITUDES--About Their Old Schools

The questionnaire, despite its problems, did afford some basis for comparing students' attitudes regarding their attendance, major problems, and relationships both in their previous schools and at Parkway.

Attendance (questions 7, 13 and 14) appears to be improved in terms of the students perceptions. By adding the percentages who answered never absent or only occasionally absent to a question about their former school, we find that 62% of the respondents answered that formerly they were rarely absent versus 88% who replied that they attended tutorial and classes regularly at Parkway.

In terms of problem areas (questions 8 and 15), 51% of the students said they had no problems at their former school and 28% said they had occasional problems. 71% of the students said they had no problems at Parkway and 16% said only occasional problems.

In terms of relationships (questions 10 and 18), 16% said that the teachers at their old school were their only problem and 21% said that teachers and other things were problems (for a total of 37%). 26% said the other students

were a problem. At Parkway 6% find that teachers are a problem and 5% list other students as a problem.

While it was obviously in the self-interest of many of the students to try and make Parkway look good and their old school look bad, it is interesting that the old school situations emerge in a fairly favorable light. Only 37% of the pupils who voluntarily left their old school to come to Parkway indicate that they had problems with teachers and students; 51% say they had no problems at their former school and only 28% admit to occasional problems.*

SUMMARY

The data presented in this section are suggestive not conclusive. What they suggest is a diverse student body in terms of academic achievement, but a student body that compares favorably with that of the city as a whole. Clearly students feel that Parkway is an improvement over their past situation although they may not be as ready to denigrate their old schools (at least on a questionnaire) as they appear to be in conversation. Whatever it is that Parkway does for them, they and the staff feel that the students attend the program's activities more regularly than they did in the past and more regularly than do other student populations.

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* Again the impressions from intervies conflict in emphasis with the recorded answers to the questionnaire. The Evaluation Team developed a strong belief in the program as offering an escape from the overall school situation.

III. ANALYSIS

Before we examine specific elements of the program and offer recommendations for their improvement, it is important to explore the meaning of Parkway. What is it that we are seeing when we watch students ferociously defend their program, when we see interns "turned on" by a program that admittedly exploits them, when we see parents claim that a program has saved their child's life, when we see institutions wondering about the value of their contribution, when we see a climate of public opinion that has fostered fear and defensiveness by appearing to be ready to eliminate such a program? In other words, once we get the pieces into place, what does the whole thing mean? To repeat: Is such an enterprise a justifiable one despite some weaknesses, or does the total of its problems eliminate it as a viable public activity? In this chapter we will attempt to suggest a perspective for viewing the Parkway Program.

In terms of what it actually does, Parkway appears to have taken a strong stand on certain conventional elements of American schooling. These elements include:

- The belief that school constitutes a preparation for life instead of a part of life itself.

- The placement of students for a major portion of their day into physical structures deliberately separated from adult institutions.

- The selection of staff who are judged competent to organize the learning of children by virtue of professional training and prior teaching experience.

- Emphasis in schools upon cognitive development for which purposes students of similar ability are deemed an instructional unit.

- The tendency for students to define their learning in terms of the teachers demands rather than their own demands.

- An implicit assumption that the growth and development of youths proceeds in even increments rather than in discontinuous and unpredictable ways.

- A vision of knowledge as 1) relatively fixed, 2) defined by academic disciplines, and 3) capable of transmission.

- An assumption that learning is an individual process that can be stimulated by competition between individuals.

- A public context of demands that, in all of the above, efficiency be a key consideration which requires schools to operate at sufficiently large scale to assure maximum financial efficiency.

Parkway has built a program that attempts to:

- Incorporate real life rather than solely prepare for it.

- Put students into contact with adults and their institutions.

- Invite adults who are not professional teachers to share their learning.

- Deliberately mix students of different ages and ability.

- Place the burden of responsibility for learning on the student's shoulders by forcing him to choose his program and get to his own classes.

- View development as discontinuous, even disorderly by letting students proceed at their own pace.
- Eliminate the concept of grades and years "put in."
- Define knowledge as a by-product of doing and sharing and as a product of reflecting on what one has done and shared.
- Eliminate competition and build upon the notion of group experience.
- Demonstrate the importance of a human scale in stead of an efficient scale for maximum interaction and learning.

This list of ten points constitutes a set of operational principles. They are the ways in which Parkway actually functions, and they correspond interestingly to the list of goals drawn from the students' comments. (Part I)

A CONTEXT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES

These principles are justified by the whole body of current educational reformist thought. That theory can be read as a variety of attempts to stretch the rather rigid boundaries that schools have defined and maintained in relation to knowledge, group behavior, adult-student relationships, adolescent development, and educational goals. In the currently complex world, the conventional school mode--which was designed for another era--appears inadequate to a variety of contemporary audiences. Parkway has placed itself in the vanguard of reformist attempts and is, not surprisingly, in a position of uncertainty that accompanies all attempts to re-think old practices and formulate new ones.

PARKWAY'S MEANING TO STUDENTS

Students at Parkway, regardless of skill level, are attempting to escape their old situation. For some that means gangs, for some personal rejection because of poor performance, for some rejection because of conflicting life styles. Many need turn-about time, and having been granted it, will return to the old school or will re-enter the mainstream.

For others, Parkway offers all the advantages of dropping out with few of the disadvantages. They gain physical freedom and mature privileges, a broader range of experiences, and are treated less as children and more as participating adults. They feel they are trusted. Their parents are happy because their children are in school and even seem to like it.

Furthermore, the students remain within a socializing structure that offers them intellectual endeavor either as a means or as an end and which permits them to pursue several routes, to be involved and stimulated and able to tune in when ready. Dropping out means losing all these benefits.

Parkway then is turn-about time for:

- The exceptionally motivated, skilled, and able child who wants to embrace new experiences.
- The student who simply cannot abide regular school (no matter what his level of skills, motivation, or ultimate goal) and who must escape, either to a Parkway or the street.
- The extreme case of the escapee, the student in real trouble with the school system as perceived by the system (This may be disciplinary trouble, undiagnosed areas of handicap, or delinquency trouble).

These apparently are not people who feel they are capable of reforming from within, of personally pushing back the boundaries that surround knowledge, behavior and relationships. It is not clear whether their lack of confidence about themselves as individuals who can effectively challenge the system says something about them, or about the system, or about the national climate. Ten years ago, many might have remained as effective citizens. Now they need to escape. Perhaps they are weaker, perhaps the system is more encrusted and less responsive than ten years ago or perhaps the climate in our country today suggests that reform is useless--that one simply needs to get out.

Whatever the reason, Parkway appears to recognize their dilemma and offer them a new opportunity.

The role Parkway plays as a temporary haven is underscored by the fact that students, no matter how much they say they love Parkway, do not stay there very long. Within two or three years, most students move on, although they theoretically do not have to and presumably have available each year new and different courses they have not yet taken. They move on to a job, to college, or to another set of experiences. What they appear to gain from a Parkway is the strength to move on. What it has given them is a second chance, sometimes a last chance, and with that chance, another way to see themselves and the people around them.

The notion of "turn-about" time also explains why students fight so hard to preserve Parkway. It is their last chance, and the thought of losing it makes them desperate.

It also explains why Parkway staff are so convinced that something vital is happening to their students even though they have trouble explaining it in terms of academic achievement.

Parkway-as-a-temporary-haven also explains why there is relatively little demand by parents for skills development; either the students, no matter how troubled, have mastered basic skills or they are in so much deeper trouble that lack of skill development is not perceived as the problem.

This interpretation of a Parkway helps explain why students stress the fact that what they learn at Parkway is responsibility. Instead of running away or dropping out, Parkway forces them to make choices about school, choices they then live with. Their insistence that responsibility is the central aspect of a Parkway needs some explication. It puzzled us for a long time. By responsibility students do not appear to mean conventional definitions like understanding and accepting the consequences of getting places on time, or at all. What they appear to be saying is that they no longer find themselves in a reactive mode. Rules in conventional school were perceived mainly as statements of distrust and oppression. The reasons behind the rules did not come through to the students. What they heard were hostile, negative efforts to contain--and they feel--dehumanize them through the apparatus of rules. For instance, no smoking rules were not perceived as measures to prevent fires in large institutions full of many people: those rules were felt to be attacks on youth. In permitting students to smoke,

Parkway is seen by them as expressing trust. The students in one unit, understanding that the Fire Department would close them down if smoking occurred in their unit headquarters, voluntarily agreed not to smoke.

This is the kind of experience which appears to make them feel responsible. The same is true of other freedoms like choosing one's own courses, walking unsupervised through the streets, and being welcomed into closer relationships with adults. Through these measures, students feel trusted. Previously they felt oppressed and fought back. Now they feel they are responsible because their actions apparently spring more out of their own initiatives and less out of resistance to someone else's initiatives.

Apparently this is what students mean when in trying to explain what they mean by responsibility they say "the absence of pressure to do things means we only do what we really want to do."

PARKWAY'S APPEAL TO TEACHERS

It is not only for students that Parkway performs a turnabout function. Many of the staff are also attracted to Parkway for some of the same reasons. Many of the staff have not yet accepted a life-style characteristic of those who have taken on the commitments of family, career, and permanence. Like the students, they too have rejected some of society's traditional institutions. This has led the staff to confuse bureaucracy and tradition. In rejecting

the way things are done traditionally, they have also rejected the notions of procedures and systems for accomplishing agreed-upon goals. They prefer the anti-bureaucratic arrangement which says that personalities and trust are what "makes things go." When there is a break-down in trust or a problem between personalities, these young teachers do not always know how to cope. Their confusion of tradition and bureaucracy, and rejection of both, is the reason the wheel is constantly reinvented at Parkway around things like forms, procedures, and systems.

A SCHOOL SYSTEM'S RESPONSIBILITIES FOR STUDENTS WHO SEEK A PARKWAY

The history of public education in this country would suggest that it was not until the early 1960's that schools fully faced the responsibility of educating everyone, regardless of individual differences, social class, or cultural group. Prior to that while high schools had worked well for the middle classes, there had been a tolerance of drop-outs who did not manage academically. With the shift in public opinion that supported a "War on Poverty" and "Maximum feasible participation" came a policy to try to meet the educational needs of all.

Yet the schools were never originally designed for everyone. Compensatory programs of one kind or another (including Head Start at one end and ESEA high school programs at the other) attempted to assist previously ignored students to make the adjustments themselves. Special education programs had previously responded to the unique educational needs of discrete portions of the population. Now other portions, with handicaps of a different sort were added.

While this was occurring, some of the most able students who had been previously well-served by the secondary education, began to turn against the schools. This was due to a whole set of complex reasons, some of which may have derived from the very movement to made schools more responsive to the previously ignored, particularly the low-income, minority students.

Without reviewing the history of compensatory education, special education, or of the youth culture, it is safe to say that two things remain: a public commitment to meet the educational needs of all children and a continued commitment to the policies of special education and compensatory education.

These two commitments justify a Parkway Program.

It appears to meet the special needs of a student population whom no large school system knows adequately how to serve:

- the low-skilled, low-income minority student
- some of the most academically talented students who find themselves turned off by regular schooling
- the non-conforming, rebellious students

And it appears to meet the needs of these diverse people by putting them all together in one program.

IV. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

If Parkway is justified as an educational enterprise in terms of the students it serves and the mode in which it serves them, then we can turn to specific elements of the program, judge their effectiveness in responding to Parkway's students and make recommendations as to their improvement. That is the focus of this section.

In order to set those elements in their proper context, however, it may be useful first to return to our discussion of goals (see Part I). We suggested in that chapter that Parkway's experience over three years had meant that Parkway's real day-to-day goals had shifted away from the original rhetoric. But given a public climate in which Parkway was consistently asked to defend itself for survival, the program found itself justifying its existence in terms of the prior rhetoric even when that rhetoric denied the legitimacy of its own experience. In fact, the climate and the general press of demands was such that Parkway did not have a chance to re-examine itself and, as a result, it began to foster an atmosphere in which its own constituents got caught up in the need to defend the program even to themselves and each other.

Some of the individual component pieces of Parkway are quite "sacred" in terms of the original vision of the program, and they therefore elicit much strong feeling. We hope that taking a hard look at them will also elicit a sense of relief. Many that we will address here have now

been critically examined by the Continuing Evaluation Committee. And it is on their work that we rely for our analysis.

In examining the component parts, we will attempt to set each within the context of its theory* and the range of experiences involved in its practice. The practice has often been weak, but the weaknesses must be viewed in a framework of exploration and experimentation. If the theory is acceptable, but its practice a problem, then we are faced with an issue that may go beyond the particular limitations of people brave enough to attempt the agony of implementation. In fact it raises an issue for many people beyond the confines of Parkway and of Philadelphia, people who are espousing the same theory and are no doubt headed for the same practical pitfalls. In this sense, this section, which reveals some of Parkway's pain as well as its accomplishments, may be useful to others about to undertake similar programs.

PARKWAY PROGRAM COMPONENTS

We will examine the following program components in the following order.

1. Lottery
2. Tutorial
3. Town Meeting

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* Where possible the theory will be set forth in John Bremer's own words, since those words continue to be used by the program in describing itself.

4. Institutions
5. Curriculum
6. Evaluations
7. Staff Selection
8. Interns
9. Administration and Unit Autonomy
10. Staff Development

The reader will recall the students' list of problem areas in the program; a list with which other constituents generally agreed:

- the lottery
- the student population
- the ethos of participation
- utilization of institutions
- methods of staff selection
- tutorial
- cross-unit hostility

1. The Lottery

Description: Students are selected for the Parkway Program by a lottery including all districts, with the exception of Delta Unit, which selected two-thirds of its students from within District VI.

Students are then assigned to units by lottery and even to tutorials within units by the same means.

Theoretical Purpose: "We are not the private preserve of any racial, social, economic, or professional group...Admissions standards are a method of discrimination not, as is often pretended, on the basis of scientifically established criteria, but on the basis of social criteria. To use them would be to destroy the community in which alone education can take place...Philadelphia is a city, is one

city, only insofar as it belongs to us all and it cannot ever belong to all of us if it provides the curriculum for an elite, for some select group." *

Practical Purpose: A political device for demonstrating egalitarianism in selecting a limited number of students from throughout the city.

Result: (examples)

1) The "device" has become a doctrine.
2) Chance does not always prove "democratic."
   Very few Spanish-speaking students even for District V.
   Does not produce a sexual mix.
   A number of instances of siblings in the program.
3) The city's guidance counselors control Parkway by discouraging some students and encouraging others. In a few cases, there is evidence that a student's parents were told that Parkway was his last chance. and that he had to apply.
4) There is difficulty in achieving a broadly representative student body.

Advantages: The lottery enhances Parkway's mystique.

It makes students feel they have won something irrevocable.

It produces a diverse student body.

It enables Parkway to avoid developing admissions criteria (a useful avoidance in the early days).

It presumably avoids political pressures brought to bear on the program to admit certain students.

Disadvantages:

Programmatically: The control of Parkway's student population is out of its hands and largely in the hands of another interest group, the city's counselors whose first allegiance presumably is to their own schools not to Parkway.

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* Director's Statement at the First Student Drawing, Friday, January 31, 1969.

Parkway cannot intelligently plan a program when it does not know whom to expect or in what combination.

Nothing about a lottery says that the ones who really want Parkway will win. Some who win never show up. This means that the entrance is chaotic, with students who have been accepted not showing up and others on waiting lists wondering when they will make it. While this goes on, students records are sent on to the school which the student was presumably going to attend, and some records are never retrieved.

Individually:

Children from the same family do not get into Parkway, making for familial problems.

Students suspect the lottery; they therefore do not view it as "the basis for love and honesty."

Conclusion: The lottery is not a functional admissions technique for a program like Parkway, despite its obvious advantages. Parkway now knows whom it serves. It now needs to know in what combinations it can serve them most effectively. Under a lottery system, Parkway will never control the mix of students and will therefore be unable to learn in what numbers and combinations it can be most effective.

Recommendation: We recommend that Parkway abandon the lottery as a system of admissions and that it develop admissions criteria based on its own hard experience of who benefits from a Parkway.* (See Section III). Selection procedures should involve obtaining entire case histories of people with a history of real problems so that specific programs can be set up and services lined up to assist them.

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* We have not undertaken the development of admissions criteria during the life of this evaluation because such criteria require for their development the involvement of people outside Parkway, like high school counselors, principals, and related service agencies.

2. Tutorial

Description: Every student in each unit is required to participate in a tutorial group each day. The tutorial represents a heterogeneous group chosen usually by lottery. Each regular staff member is required to lead a tutorial and is usually assisted in doing so by an intern.

Theory: The support group, the anchor, the "family:" "Members of the learning community are acquiring adaptability and flexibility as they respond to the potentialities of the program, learning how to play new roles, and by so doing, achieving new satisfactions."*

Practical Purpose:
- Basic skill development
- Counseling
- Group skill development
- Communications Unit--administrative unit
- Location of self and course evaluation activities

Result: Extremely uneven performance with resulting dissidence among teachers and students.

Each unit has attempted different ways to make it work:

- One unit has moved to interest-oriented tutorials and has therefore lost the heterogeneous student group
- Another has tried rotating mini-courses offered by different teachers in Basic Skills

Individual teachers attempt different methods, some seeking remedial teaching skills and others group dynamics skills, others have made the tutorial academically oriented.

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* Original Analytic Description of the Parkway Program (August 1968) from the Fourth Edition 1970 of the Parkway Program Brochure.

Advantages: Parkway, as constituted, needs a program element which performs the role tutorial has been designed for.

Disadvantages: The tutorial experience is considered a weakness in the program by a substantial proportion of the Parkway participants.

Conclusion: The tutorial combines a number of activities which conventional schools separate:

home room--communicational and administrative unit
counseling program
remediation

And, in theory at least, it adds some activities which conventional schools do not attempt:

- the development of group skills
  --consciousness of group dynamics
  --awareness of differing roles in a group
  --experience in attempting to play different roles
  --expertise in working with a group and enhancing its effectiveness
- the intellectual integration of diverse elective courses into the whole of a student's intellectual development

Recommendation: If Parkway, upon a thorough re-examination, concludes that tutorial, as presently organized, is an essential ingredient of the program (and we consider that it is), then they must address it as a problem and undertake the kind of extended staff development which is required to enable teachers to play all those roles effectively.

The program should also recognize the range of skills required to carry out such an activity and should begin in its staff selection processes to bring into the program individuals with strengths in areas such as group dynamics, and the ability to serve as resources for the other teachers.

The program might also wish to recognize excellence in some of these functions and, instead of requiring every teacher to endure this "trial by fire," it might move

toward the differentiation of staff and have certain teachers manage more than one tutorial, while other teachers assume a heavier teaching load.

Even were Parkway to act on all these recommendations, we would still urge that it consider employing central staff with training and experience in counseling and remedial reading, and that it make these staff members available across unit lines. (In making this recommendation, we are cognizant of inter-unit hostilities; but we assume that the survival of Parkway as a viable learning situation depends on the units learning to share resources.)

In no way does this recommendation diminish the counseling role of the tutorial leader, for his is the job of tracking the student through his whole experience, of advocating that child's interests to the rest of the program.

We further recommend that the tutorial become the focus of an involvement of a kind of institution which we have not seen: the involvement of social service agencies around the needs of particular students and their families. To chart what services are available, to make contact with them, to negotiate the system of using them, to benefit from what they can offer--this kind of institutional involvement would merge some of the most critical tutorial functions with the needs of a significant portion of Parkway's population, around one of Parkway's central concepts.

We recommend, in short, that the tutorial fully accept its role as advocate and broker for the students and their families.

3. Town Meeting

Description: From the beginning of the program, town meetings were found to be necessary. In practice the units differ in their frequency of meetings, some scheduling them regularly, others only when there is a request.

Theory: Participatory democracy concept; Roman open forum; one man, one vote.

It should provide a common arena for all. It should serve as a platform to air grievances. It should be a social core for cross-tutorial fertilization; and it should encourage different forms of emerging leadership and should create sophistication in handling issues in a business situation.

Practical Purposes: Moving from representative democracy to participatory democracy, allows the dissident a formal operating theater.

Results: Town meetings are poorly attended, lack direction, have floundering agendas, turn into screaming sessions, are sometimes divisive and have tended to be eliminated or held irregularly.

Advantages: Everyone has an opportunity to speak up. It provides one of the few opportunities for building a sense of total community.

Disadvantages:
For those who lack confidence and speaking skills, little is done to help them.
Little is done to help fledgling leaders develop.
There is no assigned responsibility for implementating any decisions reached.

Conclusions: Town Meeting should be kept but the method of operating should be redefined and redesigned, so that meetings are meaningful with follow-through and follow-up where needed.

Recommendations: We recommend that a small committee of students and teachers be formed in each

unit to look at various forms of Town Meeting operation and at citizen participation groups in order that several models may be designed giving the units an opportunity to adopt one or several that fit their needs.

(For instance, in New England, Town Meetings are a major model and they are as diverse as the hundreds of towns which hold them on anything from annual to quarterly basis. Many towns call special town meetings between the regular ones.)

Methods should be defined for encouraging broader attendance, inviting participation in forming agenda, (including setting a deadline for getting things placed on the agenda) designing methods of implementing decisions and rotating responsibility for moderating Town Meetings.

4. Institutions

Description: The Parkway Program makes available to its students, through the involvement of institutions, a wide range of courses which are not taught by regular Parkway teachers and which involve students with a variety of people and places. The term "institutions" has come to describe the offerings of private individuals as well as of businesses, cultural centers, and city agencies.

The involvement of institutions can also mean simply the provision of physical space for classroom use, although the Parkway Program does not technically label such services "institutions" or "community resource course offerings."

Theory: "The year around Parkway Program sets up new boundaries, and provides a new framework in which the energy of all of us can be used in learning, and not in maintaining an obsolete, inefficient system. There is no school house, there is no separate building; school is not a place but an activity, a process. We are, indeed, a school without walls. Where do the students learn? In the city. Where in the city? Anywhere and everywhere. If students are to learn about television, they cannot do this apart from the studios and locations in which television is produced. So we use television studios and we use radio stations, and we use the museums, social service organizations, and we use the business community. The Philadelphia City government departments assist us--the Police Department, and the District Attorney's office to name only two. Parents help us." *

"In the Parkway Program it is true we teach some conventional subjects, but the study groups are mostly small, under ten students,

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* Bremer, John, "The Parkway Program Brochure," Fourth Edition, January 1970.

and the old ways of classroom teaching just do not make any sense. So students and faculty are re-defining what we mean by teaching and learning. Our faculty members teach, but when they do it is not in a classroom; it is in the city, in an office building, in City Hall, in the street, depending on what they are teaching. The city is our campus." *

Practical Purpose: To avoid the costs of constructing expensive new high school buildings and hiring teachers.

To permit students to move around the city; to provide different adult models.

To assist the institutions along the Parkway to find viable new roles and provide new services in a changing times when museums and libraries and other cultural resources feel the need to redefine their roles and their audiences.

Results: (examples) The evaluation team saw very little creative use of institutions at the level we had expected. Some nice experiences were observed:

> a Parkway course taught in City Hall Annex conference room;
>
> a marvelous zoology course taught in a private zoo housed in a elementary school where the Parkway class had undertaken to care for the animals and out of those experiences were working into the subject matter;
>
> a remarkable sequence of course offerings in the field of art, available to all Parkway students and tapping an enormous range of community resources, culminating in a richer art program than we believe available in any regular school and providing along with it a full academic program.

We also observed a range of experience in utilizing space made available to the program:

* Ibid.

Beautiful conference rooms at the disposal of the program and some students unaware of how to behave in such a setting;

delapitated and torn up rooms made available in otherwise extremely fancy buildings.

Advantages:

Reduction of costs
Reduction of class size and teaching load
Provision of free space and teachers
Some remarkable course offerings
Some real meeting of students' interests and needs ranging from esoteric subjects through unique opportunities for pre-nursing training.

Disadvantages:

"Institutions" are not a priority item with Parkway teachers; instead of supporting the process and working closely with the institutions, the majority of teachers feel their responsibilities end when the students go off to the institutional courses.

Teachers have to locate their own classrooms and this becomes a burden, diverting energy from the tasks of defining what and how they are going to teach to the technical question where.

Very little attempt to integrate the learning "out there" with the learning "in here."

Much of the potential richness of the institutional course offerings is not realized; many students lack the skills to understand the course descriptions in the catalogues.

An extremely difficult procedure to manage: to generate offerings, select from among them, organize and publicize them, support the offeror, monitor the result, eliminate the inadequate, initiate the continuation.

Conclusion:

The central management of institutional offerings is impossible given the autonomy of the units and the uninvolvement of the staff. Very few teachers feel the requisite

proprietary interest in institutions,--resulting from creating them and building a pro ram around them--which will provide the individual energy to manage the institutional process.

The space-finding tasks of the Parkway program divert energy which is needed in more central educational tasks.

Recommendation: Parkway should move to develop variations on the theme that presently exists in the field of art where a single knowledgeable individual assumes the responsibility for developing across units a coherent program out of individual course offerings, where that individual is supported by clerical assistance, and where the central office plays the role of clearing house, receiving calls, directing responses, making sure that institutions and students' needs do not fall between the cracks.

Since it is not clear that the present staff possess the requisite skills for the difficult task of curriculum-building in the community, a search for such staff must become a priority item for Parkway if they are serious about their commitment to institutions.

We recommend that the search for classroom space be absorbed either by the central administration or by an expanded support staff in each unit.

We recommend that Parkway undertake an evaluation of the institutional program from the institutions' point of view to see in what ways Parkway can better meet their needs and interests.

We recommend the involvement of social service agencies not so much in terms of courses but in terms of the services they can offer Parkway's students and their families.

5. Curriculum

Description: The curriculum consists of Parkway-taught subject matter courses in English, math, languages, history, and an elective program partially-Parkway taught and partially-institutionally taught of other courses, some of them experiential.

Theory: "The whole city of Philadelphia is our campus. And Philadelphia is our curriculum. We study the city in the city. Our lives are inseparable from the city, just as the city is essentially its citizens; all of its citizens." *

Practical Purpose: A way to create a new kind of education at relatively little cost

Result: The assembling of a catalogue twice a year by each unit which lists the enormous range of course offerings is too demanding a task to repeatedly do well.

An uneven set of offerings as viewed from one unit to another and within units. Some excellent courses and excellent teaching go on in one unit but in general that resource is not available to other units or even available as a model to other teachers and interns within a unit. This has more to do with chance than design--but it is the result nonetheless. In one case a superb teacher had never been observed by another in his own unit who was having difficulties in just the areas of curriculum design and teacher technique in which the other was strong.

Given the broad range of electives, the lack of integration or sequence among them, and the liberal interpretation of state requirements, the students really are on their own to put together

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* Bremer, John, Fourth Edition of The Parkway Program Brochure, January 1970.

a meaningful program. *
Freedom of choice is not always realized by the students in filling out their rosters. Frequently they do not understand the options sufficiently to be able to make a real choice.

Advantages: The possibilities for exciting and enriched learning are obviously present in an arrangement like Parkway's.

Disadvantages: It is not clear that the student body or the over-burdened teachers are able to make the most of the situation either in terms of realizing their options or of building on their creativity.

Conclusion: A move toward loosely defined departments (as suggested in the section on Institutions) might go a long way towards rationalizing the curriculum.

Recommendations: We make the same recommendation as we did in the section on Institutions: the creation of roles wherein responsibility lies for weaving together the pieces, across unit lines, towards the end of a more rational and therefore useful system of organized course offerings.

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* It should be noted that this is a problem found in regular high schools who have moved towards a broad elective program. It is also what the Program means by "responsibility for one's own learning."

6. Evaluations

Description: Instead of giving grades to each student as a measure of his performance in each course, Parkway teachers (and institutional teachers) write evaluations of the student. Students write evaluations of the course and of the teachers. Each then reads the comments of the other, signs that he has read it, and copies go to the parents and to the files.

Theory: To avoid the judgmental and competitive system of grades; to treat students as individuals against whose own potential their individual performances must be measured; to afford students the chance to evaluate teachers; to emphasize student and teacher "partnership" in learning.

Practical Purpose: To provide feedback.

Result: In students who have been at Parkway for a number of years, the result is a folder containing 70 documents, each consisting of 2-3 pages. There is no brief way to obtain a picture of the students' ability or performance.

--Many colleges complain at being sent Parkway folders instead of a transcript.
--Another result is that one student is indistinguishable from another on the basis of the bland prose descriptions. Only after reading 15 evaluations on one student did we come across the following comment from an institutional teacher: "what else is there to say about X that hasn't been said before? He is a thorougly obnoxious young man who---" And it went on to make some constructive comments. Nothing that we had read until then suggested the young man had any personality whatsoever.

Advantages: Evaluations written with clarity and insight should be far more revealing than a letter grade.

Evaluations further the attitude at Parkway of knowing and caring about each student
Evaluations permit student input

Disadvantages: No succinct summary of a student's ability or performance

To write an insightful, well-written revealing vignette on each student takes talent and time.

Most evaluations we read were unrevealing.

The best evaluations we read dealt with the students' success in covering the material required; i.e. they translated grades into words. None that we saw placed that performance in a single class into the overall context of the student's development.

The student evaluations were of the same mindless quality, rarely included finely honed criticisims of the class or teacher, and usually included the comment "I could have done better."

Conclusions: If Parkway wishes to retain this element of its program, it should undertake to make it a meaningful activity.

Recommendations: To make evaluations a meaningful activity, we recommend:

Workshops for teachers on how to write perceptive evaluations:

what to look for
how to confront unpleasant situations constructively
how to be precise and revealing rather than bland

Writing lessons for students (as part of their regular English work) based on the evaluations they are required to write. They could be encouraged to write a series of alternative comments and examine them for techniques of conveying tones, the implications of diction, etc.
A schema for condensing the series

of evaluations into some relatively simple, brief, and precise statement (perhaps the student himself might be assigned this task as he prepares to leave the program. Doing so would force him to put into perspective his own experiences and learning and view that within the framework of how others saw him as he developed.

7. Staff Selection

Description: The staff in each unit form the nucleus together with students and parents (intermittently) of staff selection committees which screen applications, narrow the applicants, interview the most promising, narrow the list again, and interview some more. They then rank their candidates for final selection by the Unit Head. (Unit Heads are generally chosen the same way with final authority resting with the Director.)

Theory: Participatory democracy that falls into the representative form ("selected"); the theory is that of "making room": everyone must live together, hence everyone should choose the new inhabitant.

The theory is inconsistent to some extent because where student selection is concerned, the lottery is chance not choice.

The theory assumes that those who have identified the issues, needs and concerns can and should determine the solutions and can move to select the more suitable kinds of people to fulfill the new functions.

Practical Purpose: Staff selection provides one vehicle for pulling groups together to work as a unit.

Results: Distribution of the power and the problem; the constituencies share in the decision making and in the blame if their selection proves unfortunate.

Nobody knows how to "de-select" undesirable group members.

Advantages: Good or bad decisions will make it a representative group as opposed to decisions being imposed from outside.

Disadvantages: High risk of selecting emotionally.
High risk of discriminatory practices based on personal biases.
Since everyone chooses, there is no burden of responsibility for poor or wrong decisions. Whose problem is it to fire" It is not done by the staff selection committee.
There is no way of deleting selection inefficiencies since no group supervisory form is retained or tested over time.

Conclusions: Major disorientation as seen in the several different methods for selection used by one committee in selecting a group of candidates. Confusion and lack of uniformity over hiring procedures creates problems in selecting in any consistent way and disallows the establishment of criteria for measuring excellence.

Recommendations: We recommend a procedure consisting of :

The development of criteria plus definite job descriptions for each category of position within the program.

Design criteria for screening all applications at the first level of selection.

All units should select and then train the staff selection committees before they start reviewing applications. The training should include items for which the committee will be responsible like orientation to an agreed upon definition of the Parkway Program and orientation to the criteria against which they will be measuring the candidates.

Within the units,interviewing ought to be conducted in a uniform manner. It may well be that the units could agree on some standards across units.

8. Interns

Description: Ten to twelve interns from universities in the East and Mid-West enter each unit every 8-12 weeks and undertake a full range of staff duties.

Theory: To train young teachers in this new "venture in public education" so that they can go out into other situations as change agents.

Practical Purpose: Free labor; close age models; constant flow of new ideas coming in and out of the program.

Results: Very mixed in terms of their performance and their learning. It is a "sink or swim" situation, and those who swim go away with a unique learning experience.

Advantages: They reduce the class size and teacher-pupil ratio. They therefore add to the personalization of Parkway's approach.

They return to the universities able to talk about the Parkway Program.

The openness of the situation enables them to learn as much about Parkway as they are capable of absorbing.

Disadvantages: Teachers are either too burdened or insecure in their own duties to be first-rate teacher-trainers.

The program offers no real formal training aspects, and few occasions for interns to reflect mutually on their separate experiences and conceptualize what they have experienced.

Conclusion: Parkway needs to address its responsibility to interns if it is going to use them.

Recommendations: We recommend the development of an intern program consisting of mutual observation, of observation of alternative teaching styles, of seminars, of supervision. We also urge development of the mechanisms which can respond to the interns' highly legitimate perceptions thereby insuring that the Parkway Program will benefit from their special insights as temporary residents.

9. Administration and Unit Autonomy

Description: The Parkway Program is administered by a director, who is supported by a central staff of an Assistant Director, a Institutional Coordinator, a Parent Coordinator, an Information Officer, and two administrative assistants. Each unit is administered by a Unit Head who is responsible to the Program Director and by an Administrative Assistant who is responsible to the Unit Head.

Theory: A learning community does not require administration.

"In the Parkway Program, energies are not tied up in maintaining the conventional social system of the school, which is under considerable tension from the conflict arising from declared inequality, and which has little or no relation to learning; students' energies are enlisted on behalf of their own education, individually and in formal and informal groups." *

"The appropriate model for the Parkway Program is the kind of working together seen in space exploration teams, or in medical teams engaged in transplant surgery. With differentiation of function, there is an intricate pattern of interdependencies in such teams dictated by the complexity of the means necessary to achieve the end and by the variations in functional responsibility, generated as the situation changes. The activity of the Parkway Program is not essentially different. The hierarchical ordering of the roles in such teams is determined and re-determined as one stage of operation succeeds another, as crises and emergencies come and go. This has its counterpart in the Parkway Program, but, in addition, the people change their roles as the learning needs require it. Members of the learning community are acquiring

* Bremer, John, Fourth Edition of The Parkway Program Brochure, January, 1970.

adaptability and flexibility as they respond to the potentialities of the Program, learning how to play new roles and, by so doing, achieving new satisfactions." *

Practical Purpose: The Program needs to be administered, particularly as it has grown from one unit to four.

Result: There are many administrative tensions at Parkway:

1) Between the demands of a large city school system and the creative independence of small Parkway units,

2) Between traditional methods of administering schools and the more experimental theories that influence much of Parkway,

3) Between outside pressures for quick unilateral decision-making and internal demands for a more open and shared decision process,

4) Between the need to bring the program into closer contact with the parent system and the offspring's need to challenge and ignore parental advice.

To achieve a balance among the tensions would require an unusual administrative creativity. That balance has not often been achieved.

Thus, in a program notable for the degree of trust that exists between students and teachers, there is a conspicuous lack of trust between the central administration and the units.

In a program that appears to foster the notion of unit autonomy, it is not clear that real trust can be built.

The units have emphasized the concept of autonomy to the point where they have trouble seeing the program as a whole and understanding that they are not different from each other but share common problems and needs.

The units are suspicious not only of each other but also of centralized efforts to help them or to bring them together.

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* Ibid.

Advantages: The advantage of autonomy is the potential for creating a special identity and sense of a shared goal.

Disadvantages: That sense of special identity can easily shift from shared goals to a "them/us" distinction which may be temporarily important in creating a group solidarity but which can easily become destructive.

The common needs of the units around:

- interns
- institutions
- curriculum development
- staff development in tutorial, evaluations
- staff recruitment

are not being adequately met on a program-wide basis because of the units' needs to feel separate and superior. Such feelings have vitiated some efforts from the central staff.

Conclusions: The units must be helped to perceive their commonality of purpose and problems and must begin to welcome assistance fom outside. Their acceptance of OSTI and the work of the Continuing Evaluation Committee (an across-unit, cross-constituency group) are indications that the units can work together and can achieve this shared identity.

Recommendations: We recommend that the climate be altered (through outside assistance if necessary) and that program-wide attempts to address program-wide problems be started.

There needs to be a concerted effort to confront the staff's lack of trust in the administration. One preliminary technique would be to set up a schedule whereby the Director of the Program has office space and spends a significant portion of each week, by prearranged schedule, in each of the units.

If expansion beyond four units is contemplated, we recommend that careful thought be given to the emerging administrative needs. One model might be derived from a university where the director of 4-5 Parkway units might be viewed as a Dean of a school answerable, like other Deans, to a President. Unit Heads, in this model, would be equivalent to Department Heads, answerable to the Dean, while our proposed academic coordinators within disciplines might be viewed in the role of services that cut across schools and departments.

10. Staff Development

Description: Each of the units sets aside an afternoon a week separate, from formal weekly staff meetings, to address staff problems and further development.

Theory: There probably was no theory for this because it was assumed that teachers would develop through their interaction with students, and the city, and the total learning community.

Practical Purpose: Deprived of the usual supports of a school system and asked to undertake many additional duties, teachers need help.

Advantages: The function is essential because the units need some expertise they lack, the presence of someone who is not a regular member of that unit to help put matters in perspective, and a time and place for these interchanges to occur.

Disadvantages: The only disadvantage is that teachers need still more supports as they undertake very difficult tasks with little in the way of theory or prior practice to guide them.

Conclusion and Recommendation: We recommend that the program devote resources to the support of its staff, either in the form of an in-house person skilled in group work and social interventions or in the form of outside consultants.

This assistance would take the form of:

group building
help with identified problem areas:
- tutorial
- interns
- evaluations
- staff selection

assistance to Administration around leadership styles

CONCLUSION

In this report we speak to three audiences:

- We have taken seriously our charge from the Parkway Program to help it learn and have, therefore, addressed ourselves frankly to our client in discussing his self-improvement.
- We have described improvements which we believe it is in the interests of the School District of Philadelphia to encourage.
- We have attempted to help outsiders understand some of the problems involved in attempting to carry out some elegant and currently popular theories.

It would be a mistake to read the sometimes critical statements in this chapter as condemnations of the Parkway Program. On the contrary, with the exception of the lottery, which we suggest be changed, we find ourselves in agreement with the importance of each of the program elements. Our recommendations invariably are directed toward improvement, not alteration. We are impressed with what Parkway has attempted. We wish to encourage Parkway in the business of perfecting its practices.

V. CONCLUSION

The Parkway Program has accomplished something unique when viewed against the backdrop of our nation's urban education. Despite problems and weaknesses, Parkway has created an atmosphere in which students perceive rules and regulations not as hostile attacks upon their humanity, but as essential ingredients in creative group living. The adults who normally bear the responsibility for making and enforcing those rules are, at Parkway, frequently regarded as allies. Student acceptance of the necessity of rules and their affirmation of adults as people who can be trusted to care are notable achievements. In that open atmosphere students can accept the responsibility not only for themselves but for what happens to their units. In that environment of trust, people can really learn: students are unafraid to acknowledge ignorance; teachers receive more valid information from their students.

The Parkway accomplishment is not free of costs. The price Parkway pays consists of a certain degree of role confusion among students, teachers and administrators, of adult hesitancy in making demands and setting standards, of fear on the part of everyone that the program will be misunderstood and terminated. This in turn produces a high degree of defensiveness which inhibits programmatic self-examination and learning.

There is another price that Parkway has paid for its accomplishment: its confusions and defensiveness have cut the program off from the rest of the school system. This has been a double loss--to the system and to the

program. The School District of Philadelphia needs a Parkway. It needs such a program for the questions Parkway poses through its very existence, for the energy and commitment its young teachers bring, for the enthusiasm its students manifest, and for the gratitude and relief its parents feel. And the Parkway Program needs the school system's experience and expertise particularly in terms of rigorous academic accomplishments and bureaucratic practices. Without such bridges into the system, Parkway is in danger of isolating itself from the schools and bringing about its own destruction.

We view the relationship of Parkway to the system as one of creative tension in which each learns more about the other--and about itself--by virtue of open communication between them. That communication must be opened in a way that has not yet occurred, but its past absence should not be viewed as a reason for depriving Parkway of a future.

In the context of creative tension, the immediate future of Parkway ought to include a perfecting of what the program is about (see Section IV) without dramatic expansion. It ought also to include the development of a team of consultants from within Parkway who could begin to work with other schools in articulating the Parkway experience and in helping to create Parkway-type experiments within other schools. By looking at the future of Parkway in terms of the development of a range of variations on one theme, rather than replication of the same theme in different locations throughout the city, the School District ought to be able to benefit from the Parkway experience while helping Parkway learn better what that experience has been.

APPENDIX: THE STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Initially the OSTI team had planned to administer a student questionnaire in two parts: the first, in which each student would note his name, asking for specific facts relating to both prior school experience and the Parkway experience; the second, anonymous, dealing with opinions of Parkway. Discussion with Parkway staff made it clear that only an anonymous questionnaire would be acceptable, and OSTI agreed. This meant of course that there would be no way to cross-check responses for accuracy or for follow-up purposes, but it was felt that the data obtained, while somewhat limited in value, would provide a tentative profile of student background, experience and opinion, as a supplement to information obtained through other means, such as interviews.

The questionnaire was administered during the first week in December 1971 in tutorial groups of all four units. While all students were urged to cooperate in filling it out, no pressure was exerted and no check made to ensure 100% returns. The table below indicates the number and percent of returns in relation to students enrolled and average daily attendance over the three month period surrounding the time the questionnaire was given.

	Av. no. of students on roll, Oct.-Dec. 1971	Av. daily attendance	Percent attendance	Questionnaires returned	Percent returns (of students on roll)
Alpha	177	140	79%	100	56%
Beta	181	148	82%	119	66%
Gamma	169	132	78%	123	73%
Delta	177	157	89%	151	85%
TOTAL PARKWAY	704	577	82%	493	70%

Examination of the returns was enormously facilitated by Miss Martha Leader, a former Parkway intern, who, as part of her senior thesis work at Swarthmore College, transferred all questionnaire responses to computer cards and tabulated the data. Analysis of the data was, however, complicated by several factors: the design of the questionnaire

was far from ideal; students did not respond to all questions; and students sometimes selected more than one answer when only one response was requested. Moreover, it is not known how clearly the questionnaire was understood by all respondents, how accurately information was given, nor how honestly opinions were expressed. With these reservations in mind, however, the following tables and statements are offered as one "picture" of the Parkway student body, based on a rather large (70%) sample of that group. It is hoped that further efforts will be made to analyze the Parkway population, its attributes and opinions, as part of the continuing work of program evaluation and modification to meet the needs of students.

STUDENT BACKGROUND

Students in the group responding had been at Parkway for varying lengths of time, although the majority indicated they were fairly new to the Program, having entered in September 1971.

DATE ENTERED PARKWAY	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER RESPONDING
February 1969	21	4.3
September 1969	68	13.8
February 1970	19	3.9
September 1970	74	15.1
February 1971	37	7.5
September 1971	259	52.7
Other	15	2.6
	493	100.0

Students indicated their ethnic background as follows: Black, 238; White, 200; Spanish-speaking, 8; Oriental, 3. Forty-four students either declined to answer on this point, or indicated their objections to the question by responding "human being," etc.

Of the responding group, 403 indicated they had come from another Philadelphia public school; the remainder, from Philadelphia parochial or private schools or from suburban schools.

HOW AND WHY DID STUDENTS CHOOSE PARKWAY?

More than half of the students learned about the Parkway Program from teachers (29%) and counselors (23%) at their former schools. Another 27% learned of it from a Parkway student, while the remainder indicated various sources, such as non-Parkway students, newspaper accounts and parents.

Almost 60% of the students said their applications were submitted by themselves; another 25% said teachers or counselors submitted applications for them. Parents accounted for 10% and "not known" the remainder.

Students were also asked to indicate their main reason for transferring to Parkway, selecting from those listed below. Some students selected only one of these; others chose several.

REASON	PERCENT SELECTING ITEM AS ONE OF SEVERAL
I hated my old school	42%
I wanted more freedom	44%
I felt Parkway could give me a greater choice of courses	52%
My friends were going to Parkway	4%
I wanted to try something new	50%
Parkway is a status symbol	3%
I felt I could learn more at Parkway	7%
Other (miscellaneous)	17%

FORMER SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

Grades: About half the respondents reported themselves as average-to-good students, with one-fourth indicating they were good-to-excellent.

A's and B's	29%
B's and C's	47%
C's and D's	19%
D's and F's	5%

Attendance: While the great majority of students said they were in regular attendance, a significant number were not because of illness or truancy (occasional or serious).

Never absent or occasionally excused	65%
Frequently absent (excused)	11%
Absent (unexcused) occasionally	12%
Absent (unexcused) frequently	12%

Problems: Just over half (55%) of the students reported no problem "getting along" with teachers and staff of their former schools. But more than one-fourth (30%) indicated they had "occasional trouble" for various reasons: fights - 13%; rudeness - 7%; not paying attention - 19%; misbehavior in class - 11%; not working - 15%. A third group indicated "frequent" difficulty, defined as being sent to the principal (5%) or being suspended (10%).

Asked to identify their biggest problem at the former school, 37% of the students selected teachers; 30% indicated the limited course offerings; and 28%, other students. Asked to choose the best aspect of the former school, 41% identified other students; 23%, activities; 19%, teachers. A significant number (10.5%) wrote in that they liked "nothing" best about the former school.

THE PARKWAY EXPERIENCE

Grades: As numerical or letter grades are not given at Parkway, the questionnaire attempted to uncover some clues about student progress by asking students to indicate the degree to which they, and their teachers, felt they were learning and working in their classes. Responses were as follows:

LEARNING/WORKING	STUDENT SELF-EVALUATION	STUDENT PERCEPTION OF TEACHER EVALUATION
In all classes	50.6%	53.1%
In only classes liked best	20.0%	18.2%
Not as well as possible	28.7%	28.0%
Not at all	.7%	.7%

Attendance: Almost all students reported that they attended classes and tutorial regularly or almost regularly.

	REGULARLY	ALMOST ALL THE TIME	NOT REGULARLY
Classes	56%	35%	9%
Tutorial	62%	30%	8%

Problems: Nearly four-fifths (79%) of the respondents indicated that they had no problems with teachers or staff at Parkway. Only 18% indicated "occasional" problems and 3% "quite a bit of trouble." Most of those mentioning occasional trouble attributed it to poor attendance (6%) or to not completing their work (10%). A similar pattern appeared for those few who characterized themselves as being in frequent trouble.

The "biggest" problem at Parkway, as indicated by responses to one question, was seen to be difficulty in getting to classes on time. The percentage of the respondent group selecting this and other problems (alone or in combination) follow:

Difficulty getting to classes	25%
Weakness in basic skills	17%
Tutorial	14%
Town meeting	10%
Disliking some teachers	6%
Disliking some students	5%

Favorite aspect of Parkway: Students were given a variety of possibilities from which to select the "thing liked most" about Parkway. Figures given below for each item indicate the percentage of the group which selected it alone or in combination.

Learning more in classes	45%
Being on one's own	45%
Knowing teachers better	44%
Being treated as responsible person	44%
Getting more help with problems	36%
Knowing a greater variety of kids	20%
Tutorial	11%
Town meeting	3%

FUTURE PLANS

The majority of Parkway students are planning on college or some other means of continuing their education.

College	67.4%
Business or Technical School	6.9%
Work	16.1%
Travel	4.1%
Other	5.5%

Asked whether they were receiving appropriate help from Parkway in achieving their future goals, most students responded in the affirmative.

All the help needed	25%
Quite helpful	59%
Not too helpful	10%
Little or no help	6%

ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

Martha Leader, a Swarthmore College student who served as a Parkway intern in the spring 1971 semester, had already decided to use the Parkway Program as the topic of her senior thesis at the time OSTI was hired to conduct a study of the Program. She participated in some preliminary stages of the evaluation process and, with the approval of OSTI and the Parkway administration, decided to utilize the questionnaire results as a major tool in developing her thesis. In return, she agreed to keypunch all questionnaire returns, run them on a computer, provide a print-out for OSTI and share her own findings with OSTI and Parkway.

Although her work was not complete at the time that this report was written, several of the tables she had compiled are attached, as additional sources of information and insights about Parkway students, based on the questionnaire returns. As noted earlier, however, the questionnaire returns cannot be considered as definitive or totally reliable statements; the conclusions based on this data analysis are at best tentative and suggestive. It should also be noted here that Miss Leader was not involved in writing the questionnaire, nor was it written with her thesis in mind. An explanation of the work she is undertaking follows.

The Senior Thesis: Much has been written about inequality in education[1] based on such factors as race or economic and social background, and a number of solutions proposed. Parkway is one response to that problem. The Parkway Program is an innovation in a public urban school system, which is intended to provide a good educational experience for high school students from the entire range of social, economic, racial and academic backgrounds found in a metropolitan area.

With the help of a faculty member in the Sociology Department of Swarthmore College, data analysis and correlation methods were designed to utilize the returns from the student questionnaire administered by the OSTI evaluation team. The data are being examined by comparing responses of students of different class and racial backgrounds to questions about past schools and about the Parkway Program.

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[1] Usually including grades, dropout rates, teacher expectations, discipline, etc.

The hypothesis of this investigation is that Parkway students from all backgrounds think Parkway represents an improvement in all or most areas over their past school experiences. If Parkway does benefit different types of students, there should be no group that consistently responds more negatively to Parkway in any question dealing with attitudes, problems, achievement, and so on, at Parkway.

The concept of socio-economic status (SES) is usually defined in terms of a combination of components such as income, occupation, education, values, etc. Although the questionnaire had only two questions in this area, the responses indicated enough consistency between parent educational level and parent occupation to create a variable of SES for Parkway students. Occupations were ranked in the following way and assigned points:

Professional and managerial	--	3
Office or white collar	--	2
Factory, blue collar, and unemployed	--	1

Educational levels were arranged on the following scale:

Graduate or professional school	--	7
College graduate	--	6
Some college	--	5
Some post-high school training	--	3
High school graduate	--	2
Under 12th grade	--	1

The computer combined the information into eight categories which were then condensed to four, as shown in the attached tables. Students were distributed into these categories according to race. Despite the factors referred to earlier which may partly invalidate questionnaire results, the hypothesis will be tested by looking for patterns in responses of students in the various categories.

COMPARISON OF SELECTED PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY STUDENTS AT FORMER SCHOOLS AND PARKWAY.
(STUDENTS ARE CATEGORIZED BY RACE AND BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS)

SOCIO-ECON. STATUS LOW TO HIGH		NO PROBLEMS GETTING ALONG WITH STAFF (% SELECTED)		SUSPENDED OR SENT TO PRINCIPAL- (% TROUBLE AT PARK.)		PROBLEMS WITH FIGHTS (% YES)		PROBLEM WITH PAYING ATTENTION (% YES)		PROBLEM WITH NOT DOING WORK (% YES)		NUMBER OF CASES ANSWERING	
		PAST	PARK.	PAST	PARK.	PAST	PARK.	PAST	PARK.	PAST	PARK.	PAST	PARK.
1	B	65%	85%	11%	4%	18%	1%	12%	1%	5%	8%	103	100
	W	50	80	27	2	6	2	17	0	15	10	52	50
2	B	64	80	8	3	11	0	17	2	9	8	64	60
	W	59	82	10	0	10	0	26	3	18	16	39	38
3	B	45	83	16	0	26	0	19	3	13	10	31	30
	W	40	63	18	5	8	5	35	0	28	16	40	38
4	B	75	69	6	6	6	0	6	0	0	16	16	16
	W	48	81	16	0	16	2	28	4	24	12	58	57

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF STUDENT RESPONSES FOR SOME PARKWAY PROBLEMS: % SELECTED (STUDENTS ARE CATEGORIZED BY RACE AND BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS)

SOCIO-ECON. STATUS LOW TO HIGH		CLASS NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT'S GOING ON (6%)	HARD TO GET TO CLASSES ON TIME (28%)	TUTORIAL (15%)	READING AND MATH SKILLS (17%)	NUMBER OF CASES
1	B	8%	32%	14%	26%	95
	W	8	18	12	26	49
2	B	8	34	18	20	61
	W	3	30	13	22	37
3	B	3	30	20	10	30
	W	5	28	15	8	39
4	B	12	31	25	19	16
	W	0	20	13	7	59

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF STUDENT RESPONSES FOR SOME THINGS LIKED MOST ABOUT PARKWAY: % SELECTED
(STUDENTS ARE CATEGORIZED BY RACE AND BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS)

SOCIO-ECON. STATUS LOW TO HIGH		LEARN IN CLASSES (47%)	HELP WITH PROBLEMS (37%)	TREATED AS RESPONSIBLE (42%)	ON MY OWN (46%)	TUTORIAL (18%)	NUMBER OF CASES
1	B	40%	36	31%	37%	8%	109
	W	49	47	49	51	15	53
2	B	40	39	42	43	12	67
	W	51	34	56	51	15	41
3	B	70	39	24	36	9	33
	W	37	32	50	57	10	40
4	B	75	50	44	43	25	16
	W	52	26	47	52	13	61

TABLE III

ATTENDANCE AT PAST SCHOOL AND PARKWAY. (STUDENTS ARE CATEGORIZED BY RACE AND BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS)

	PAST SCHOOL				PARKWAY	
SOCIO-ECON. STATUS LOW TO HIGH	NEVER ABSENT OR OCCASIONALLY EXCUSED OR UNEXCUSED	FREQUENTLY EXCUSED	FREQUENTLY UNEXCUSED	NO. CASES	AV. OF CLASS AND TUTORIAL % ANS. REGULAR OR MOST OF TIME	NO. OF CASES TUTORIAL-CLASS
1. B	81%	15%	5%	104	89%	106-107
W	59	13	29	54	91	53-55
2. B	82	10	7	68	90	65-69
W	76	10	24	41	92	41
3. B	93	6	0	32	96	33
W	75	10	15	40	88	40
4. B	94	6	0	16	97	16
W	82	10	8	61	95	60-61

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF STUDENT REACTIONS TO TEACHERS AND KIDS AT PAST SCHOOL AND PARKWAY. (STUDENTS ARE CATEGORIZED BY RACE AND BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS)

INTERPRETIVE NOTE: By far most popular at past school are activities, kids and then teachers. At Parkway more choices compete for thing liked most, therefore kids and teachers don't rate as high by comparison.

SOCIO-ECON. STATUS LOW TO HIGH		PROBLEM: TEACHERS PAST (37%)	PARK. (6%)	PROBLEM: KIDS PAST (27%)	PARK. (6%)	LIKE MOST: TEACHERS KNOW TEACHERS PAST (20%)	PARK. (45%)	LIKE MOST: KIDS (VARIETY) PAST (44%)	PARK. (20%)
1.	B	34%	6%	27%	4%	20%	33%	38%	10%
	W	37	8	31	4	19	53	28	11
2.	B	23	7	27	5	23	40	64	20
	W	52	0	25	5	20	44	32	24
3.	B	33	7	23	10	26	30	64	10
	W	45	3	32	8	20	57	51	30
4.	B	36	6	21	12	27	50	47	20
	W	43	10	23	8	13	62	39	39

TABLE V